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NUMBER 47

Third Quarter 1992

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FRIENDS OF FINANCIAL HISTORY ISSUE 47, FALL 1992

PUBLISHED BY THE MUSEUM OF AMERICAN FINANCIAL HISTORY

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Friends would like to thank the following people for their help in preparing this issue:

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Letter from the Editor

OUR APOLOGIES. This issue was finished so far past our deadline we'd rather not admit to you how far it was. As explanation, not justification, it's worth pointing out that the staff of the Museum was busy, as summer turned into fall, putting up its second major exhibit in its new permanent home. And your volunteer editor was touched on the shoulder with a magic wand and given a few more responsibilities at what he likes to call his "paying" job. We appreciate the patient indulgence of our readers, and we can only hope this belated issue is at least partly worth the wait.

SHARE THE LAND. How did the English so successfully colonize North America? They were driven by a zealous desire for religious freedom, by a shining hope of making a new life in a New World. But they were also propelled westward on a wave of speculative capital. Many of the colonies and towns of New England were financed as corporations, hiring settlers to provide labor, allocating capital spending to build their communities, and distributing the profits of the settlements among their investors. In his brilliant new book, *Profits in the Wilderness* (Univ. of North Carolina, 1991, \$34.95), Dr. John Frederick Martin shows how incorrigibly capitalistic the North American colonies were from the very beginning. We have adapted a segment of his book, which you will find on p. 12 in this issue; the second part of our adaptation will appear in the next issue of *Friends*. I found it one of the most fascinating works on early American finance that I have read in a long time, and I hope you will agree.

COLUMBUS. In October, half a millennium ago, Christopher Columbus became the first European to stake a claim to the Western Hemisphere. We were long taught that what drove him across the cold and unknown seas was the Renaissance spirit of scientific inquiry. But author John Yewell finds another motive: profit. For the story of how Columbus financed his voyage, and how desperately he wanted to become rich from the lands he found, see p. 4.

AND MORE. We also review an old book and a new one, a scripophily sale in Germany and the Museum's new exhibit here in New York. As always, we thank you for reading *Friends*, we hope you will visit the Museum whenever you can, and we hope you will let us hear both your compliments and your criticisms.

Jason Zweig

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Christopher Columbus was not just a navigator. He was the first foreign entrepreneur in North America.

The Columbian Cartel

By John Yewell

In this quincentenary year, some historians see Christopher Columbus as a visionary navigator, others as a rapacious colonial pirate. Since so much is made of Columbus as a capitalist, and since he is at the same time so roundly vilified for the greed which made slavery an acceptable commercial answer to pay the bills of his enterprise, it seems only right that we try to follow the moncy, to § find out how he paid for his explorations, how his finances may have dictated his policies, and how these in turn have been passed down to us as the Columbian legacy.

Christopher Columbus first approached King Fernando and Queen Isabel of Spain in 148 with his idea to sail west to Asia. At the time Christian Spain was nearing the end of a long war against Muslim Spain, known as the reconquista. The prolonged fighting had impoverished the land, which had suffered waves of famine, complicated by plagues, throughout the 15th Century. The Inquisition had been underway for two years, and yet this was also the Renaissance, a time of great learning and advancement, the time of Da Vinci and of Italian prominence in Mediterranean affairs. The monpermission archs gave Columbus's first voyage just cight days after the death of Lorenzo de Medici, one of the founders of modern banking. Italian financiers would play a major role in Columbus's enterprise.

On January 20, 1486, Columbus made his first pitch to the Spanish sovereigns. But his prospectus was scriously flawed: he had grossly underestimated the earth's circumference. Learned men of the time had already made roughly accurate estimates of the westerly distance to

During the time of Columbus's voyages, the Spanish crown was active raising funds at home for the Catholic Church. In this document, dated March 11, 1502, Queen Isabel orders payments to be made to the Church and monastery of Saint Elena, near the city of Llerena.

Asia, which Columbus gauged to be a good 25% closer. So when Fernando and Isabel submitted his plan to scholarly review, it was rightly rejected as unfeasible, and therefore a bad financial bet.

Although they were not ready to equip him and set him sailing, Fernando and Isabel awarded, in the spring of 1487, the first of many grants paid to Columbus to support him while they considered his plan. During an August audience in Malaga, which had just been reconquered, they suggested that the end of the war would allow them to fund such an expedition. Thus began a long, complicated retainer arrangement, during which the King and Queen strung Columbus along, sabotaging his attempts to finance

his voyage elsewhere while refusing to fund it themselves.

So Columbus bided his time working, it is thought, as a mapmaker and book salesman — while continuing to beat the bushes for support. Catholic Spain had long profited from the payment of tribute from Muslim Grenada, which dealt in the African gold trade from which Spain was excluded by treaty with Portugal. The Spanish knew that the Reconquista would climinate the tribute from Grenada. Trade with Asia might replace the lost income, but the Portuguese already dominated the southerly and easterly routes. So Columbus's western plan made more sense than the monarchs may have wanted to admit to him — but any major commitment of the royal treasury would have to await



The front left vignette of the 85 U.S. Freasury Note, 1871, features Christopher Columbus in sight of land, and was designed by Charles Lenton and engraved by Charles Burt

the end of the war.

Impatient to see his plans put into action, Columbus turned to the private capital market, which in 15th-Century Spain meant rich nobles. Several deals fell through, including one with Enrique de Guzmán, the duke of Medina Sidonia and one of the richest men in Spain. It is thought that de Guzmán turned thumbs down because he was aware of Columbus's geographical miscalculations.

Later Columbus was introduced to Luis de la Cerda, the count (and later Duke) of Medinaceli. The count expressed his willingness to put up the lion's share of the money, but would not do so without the blessing of the king and queen. Upon receiving Medmaceli's letter, the queen sum-

moned Columbus back to the court and precluded the deal.

In the summer of 1491. Columbus took his road show around Spain, seeking support. Later that year he met Juan Pérez, who was a former official in the queen's court. He was also introduced to Martín Alonzo Pinzón, who would later be instrumental in putting together the fleet for Columbus's first voyage and would himself captain the *Pinta*. Pérez became a solid backer, and on a mule rented by Pinzón he rode off to see the queen to convince her to consider once more Columbus's plan.

Finally, Columbus's time had come, It was late in 1491, and Fernando and Isabel had just signed an agreement that would pay the Mushims 24 million *maravedis* to give up Grenada, their last foothold on the Iberian peninsula, the following year. For that price, the Spanish monarchs regained Spain for the Spaniards and ended the war. They sent Columbus 20,000 maravedis to return to court. But, early in 1492, Columbus's plan was once again run through the gauntlet of learned opinion, and once again it was rejected.

Fed up, Columbus rode off, probably for France. But Luis de Santángel—the manager of the king's household accounts and one of the treasurers of the Santa Hermandad, the royal secret police—persuaded the monarchs that Columbus's voyage was a gamble worth making. It was, said Santángeland another influential court-

ier. Abraham Senior, a minor shortterm risk that could have a huge longterm reward. (Both Santangel and Senior were *conversos*. Jews forcibly converted to Catholicism by the Inquisition.) For a couple of million maravedis — easily finagled here and there — Spain might find the new sources of overseas wealth it so desperately needed. A bailiff was dispatched to retrieve Columbus, and the negotiations were opened.

The government agreed to give Columbus about 2 million maravedis. There is no truth, however, to the legend that Isabel pawned her jewels to pay for the expedition. So where did the money come from? Santángel, along with Francisco Pinello, a Genoese banker and friend of Columbus, arranged a loan from the Santa Hermandad for 1,140,000 marayedis, a sum which was later reimbursed from other government funds. Of the total. I million was to cover the expenses of the trip. Another 140,000 went to Columbus as salary — an enormous sum that certainly qualifies him as one of the first highly paid CEOs in history. Beneath him, the ships' captains earned 2.500 marayedis per month, masters and pilots got 2,000 per month, seamen 1,000, and ship's boys 666. While it is difficult to value these figures in 1992 U.S. dollars, at the time a cow cost 2,000, a pig cost 400, and 1 bushels of wheat cost 73 marayedis.

But Columbus still felt his expedition was underfunded. He took out a



The reverse side of the \$5 U.S. Treasury Note, 1871, features the landing of Columbus, from a pointing by John Vanderlyn.

personal loan for half a million § maravedis from Juanoto Berardi, a Florentine banker in Seville, to pay for three ship's surgeons and several caulkcrs, carpenters, and various crew members. (Berardi later overextended himself in the slave trade and Caribbean ventures and died insolvent.) Each ship had a small launch for going ashore, or for communicating between ships at sea. Cheap trinkets which had proved popular in trade in Africa were brought along. Just as interesting is what seems to have been left behind. Columbus brought no professional soldiers and only a smattering of small arms: crossbows, arquebuses, and a fcw small cannon. There were no priests to convert any heathen they might find. And Columbus brought neither a metallurgist to identify gold or silver deposits nor a botanist or agricultural expert to search for promising crops.

The monarchs paid for Columbus' flagship, the Santa Maria, but the Nina and the Pinta were paid for by a punitive levy on the port town of Palos, whose tuna fishermen had recently violated a territorial treaty between Spain and Portugal. To punish the town, the Spanish monarchy ordered the people of Palos to supply two ships and crews for Columbus's voyage.



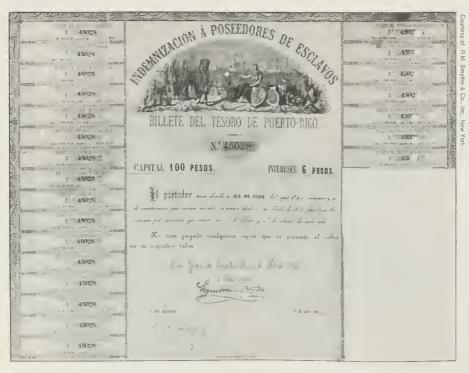
Believe it or not, the image at the left of this \$10 Canal Bank note, from 1846, is of Chritopher Columbus, a popular figure on securities and bank notes throughout the 19th Century.

Columbus swung a sweet deal for himself in his contract with the monarchy, signed April 17, 1492, which is known as the Capitulations of Santa Fe. Columbus had two aims: First came his ego, then — close behind – came his purse. He secured the rights to several noble titles, including viceroy, governor general of any lands he might find, and the hereditary honorific "Admiral of the Ocean Sea." Columbus also insisted on getting, for himself and his heirs, 10% of all future earnings from all operations in those lands — which surely would have been the most lucrative contract in history, had it been honored by the monarchy. How hard a bargain did Columbus

drive? When the Spanish King Charles V sent Ferdinand Magellan off to circumnavigate the globe in 1519, he promised Magellan and his partner Rui Faleiro (and their heirs) a total of just 5% of the profits, along with joint governorship of all lands they found.

Columbus set sail from Palos on August 3, practically hull to hull with boats carrying the last Jewish refugees being forced into exile. After a brief stopover in the Canary Islands, the three tiny boats finally came within sight of the Bahamas ten weeks later, and he promptly took for himself the annuity of 10,000 maravedis promised by the monarchs to the first person to see land — even though it was one of the crew, Juan Rodríguez Bermejo, who first spotted solid ground.

To his chagrin, Columbus found no great quantities of gold. The islands traded food and other local products among themselves, but there were none of the teeming cities, exotic spices, fine porcelains, or finished silks that Columbus had expected to find in Asia. After the first weeks of island-hopping and claiming territory for Spain, Columbus was worried: he not only was unsure where on earth he was, but he had no idea how to turn a profit from what he was finding. Like an unscrupulous stock promoter, Columbus solved the problem with plenty of hype: in his diary, he described one river on the island of Hispaniola (present day Haiti and the Dominican Republic) as "all full of gold, and in such quantity that is marvelous," even though it was no such thing. And once Columbus returned alive and triumphant with the stunning news of land to the west, no one was in any mood to quibble over the details.



Depicting slavery as an institution supported by the state, this Puerto Rican Treasmy bill, issued on April 6, 1876, offers a secured bearer bond to slave holders. It states that "the bearer has the right of 6% of the capital for any interest and to the amortization for yearly auctions starting from July 1, 1874".

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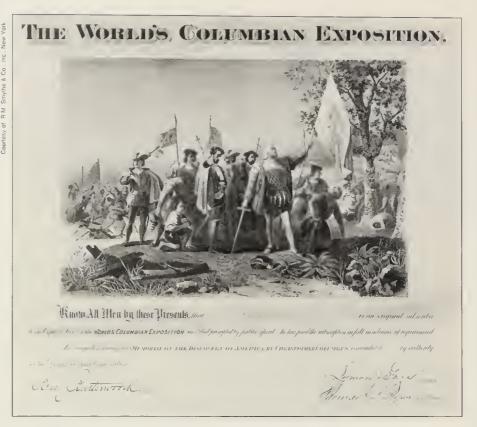
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A second expedition was hastily organized and handsomely funded by Fernando and Isabela. This time there was no scrimping. Seventeen ships and at least 1,200 men equipped with everything needed to set up a permanent colony sailed westward in the fall of 1493. Their cargo included farming equipment, seeds and seedlings such as wheat, vegetables, and fruit, as well as horses, cows, goats, and sheep.

Until then, most European trade with far-off lands had followed two patterns: The Asian model of trade dispatched European merchants thousands of miles overland across Turkey, Persia, and the silk routes to China, while the Portuguese chose to trade with Africa by setting up trading outposts where middlemen could negotiate long-term relationships with local rulers. Instead, Columbus and the Crown were creating a new pattern of trade, based on what they believed to be the circumstances in the territories they had found.

The whole enterprise was to be run under a royal monopoly from the island of Hispaniola, administered by Columbus as a kind of cartel. It would be a self-sustaining trading post, manned by settlers salaried by the Crown, with the explicit mission of extracting whatever wealth the land would yield. Among these settlers were soldiers, farmers, and artisans. There were no women. By largely cutting out the middleman, colonization was more efficient than the other models of trade, but it first displaced



Since the last anniversary of Columbus's 1492 voyage, the perception of the man and his accomplishments has changed greatly. This certificate from the 1892 World's Columbian Exposition depicts Columbus's coming to the new world as an almost "god-like" event.

and then exploited the indigenous people of the colonies. Flush with the success of driving the Muslims out of Spain, the Spanish government was in an expansionist mood that made colonization seem perfectly natural — just as the U.S. government swept its power across the American West following the Civil War.

Unfortunately, Columbus was a far better salesman than he was an

administrator. His career as chief executive officer of the Spanish territories is a catalog of errors and atrocities. Because all profits went to the Crown, the salaried settlers had no incentive to work hard for themselves — but they soon found a source of free labor, brutally enslaving the local Taino Indians to find gold for them. Columbus, unfortunately, showed no talent for running a bureaucracy or for motivating the settlers to do the work they werc being paid to do. When the settlers and their new slaves had difficulty finding gold, Columbus demanded tribute in gold from the native population that was still free: all people over the age of fourteen were required to bring in a hawk's bell full of gold every three months. (The more distant Indian communities could substitute a quota of cotton.) A bell small enough to be worn around the neck of a bird of prey probably held no more than an ounce or two of gold, but even that amount would not have been easy to gather, since the people of the islands had traditionally gathered gold only from dispersed alluvial deposits. Those who could not fulfill the Spanish quota had their hands cut off.

Columbus oversaw the colony ini-



Christopher Columbus was the theme of the 1893 World Exhibition in Chicago, as illustrated by this World's Columbian Exhibition share certificate.



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tially, but soon left it in the hands of his brother Diego while he went off to explore Cuba. During the spring of 1494 Spanish atrocities mounted, and their indiscriminate murder, enslavement, and rape set off wholesale warfare with the Taino people. Columbus returned from Cuba and cracked down: In February, 1495, determined to prove that the foundering colony could show a profit, Columbus captured more than 1,000 slaves. He shipped some 550 of them to Spain; only about half survived the trip. The following month he led a military expedition into the interior of Hispaniola, fighting and winning a pitched battle with some 10,000 Taino Indians and related tribes.

But Columbus's dream was coming apart before his eyes. His promises of fabulous wealth turned out to be false, and his settlers were starving because they refused to eat native foods. Determined to get his 10% cut of all the wealth of the region, he drove the settlers hard — yet he stifled individual initiative by strictly enforcing the royal monopoly over production. With disease and the Spanish atrocities rapidly wiping out the native population, the Spanish settlers were having to work harder to satisfy Columbus's demands. It is no wonder that before long Columbus found himself fighting the Indians and his own mutinous settlers simultaneously. He eventually began executing some of the Spanish colonists, although the exact number is not known. By the time of his third voyage in 1498, Fernando and Isabel were so alarmed by word of Columbus's mismanagement that an emissary was sent to replace Columbus and return him in chains.

Columbus's strict control had conflicted with the *reconquista* policies of land grants and relative freedom of enterprise. Eventually, when it became clear that the idea of a trading colony was failing, a practice of land grants called *repartimiento* was instituted. But as the native populations declined, the value of the lands also fell, since there was a smaller supply of potential forced labor.

The Spanish monarchs did not approve of slavery even though they condoned the tribute system, and their decrees on the subject over the years betray equal amounts of moral outrage and economic realism. Responding to



The U.S. Postal Service acknowledged the voyages of Columbus by issuing a set of three 1992 commemorative stamps. They are "Columbus soliciting aid of Isabella" for 5¢, "Columbus at La Rabida" for 30¢ and the "Recall of Columbus" for 50¢.

reports from returning settlers late in 1494 and early 1495, they at first expressed a desire to place a moratorium on slavery, but their policies fluctuated. For example, in 1495 the monarchs conceded that indigenous peoples captured in "just" warfare could be enslaved, which of course only encouraged further warfare. However, in 1498, Isabela is reported to have ordered the freeing of some slaves. In 1542 the enslavement of Native Americans was finally outlawed by the Spanish crown, but by then the population had been decimated.

By the time of Columbus's third voyage in 1498, news at last arrived of substantial gold finds on Hispaniola, but by then the economics of the colonies had almost become secondary. The Portuguese were sending Vasco da Gama east to India, and geopolitical considerations were paramount. It was that cra's equivalent of our space race.

With large gold deposits on the horizon, and with the urgent need to expand exploration to outflank the Portuguese, Fernando and Isabel broke their agreement with Columbus around 1500, granting licenses to other explorers. They took political control away from the unreliable Columbus and vastly reduced the percentage of

potential profits that any explorer could claim.

By 1503, a year after Columbus's fourth and last voyage, a House of Trade was established in Seville. It was a sign that the colonies were becoming profitable, although it is doubtful that the full costs of all the exploration to that year had yet been recouped. Later, as the need for labor grew, the African slave trade filled the gap. In addition to working in the mines, Africans would later be put to work on the growing number of sugar plantations. (By the eighteenth century the most profitable colonics in the world were the sugarcane-growing West Indies, and many countries, including England, France, and Holland, profited from the slave trade to those colo-

As the 16th Century gathered momentum, Spanish influence spread throughout Central and South America, through the Aztec and Inca empires. The great silver mines of Mexico and Peru turned Spain into one of the richest nations in history. By 1565, Spain had conquered the Philippines, and American silver was then shipped by Spain to Asia to be traded for silks and spices. Ironically, this silver trade finally provided the Spanish with the medium and route

of trade with the east they had been searching for in the first place. It is thought that between 1500 and 1650, at least 181 tons of gold and 16,000 tons of silver came to Europe from the Western Hemisphere.

Western hemisphere plants, such as corn, the tomato, and the potato, enriched the European diet and helped stave off famine. Europe's population grew—but so did a new evil: inflation. It is thought that prices in Spain may have risen as much as fivefold in the 16th Century — an unprecedented

outburst of inflation. The wholesale transfer of wealth at the root of this inflation shifted power away from the aristocracy toward the merchant classes, whose capital later financed the industrial revolution.

And Columbus? He died in 1506 in the town of Valladolid, just a few houses down the street from where, 99 years later, Cervantes would write *Don Quixote*. He was an embittered, vainglorious, and boastful man to the very end. Some chroniclers believe that he died broke, but that is probably an overstate-

ment. Columbus believed to the last that his voyages entitled him to immense wealth, so he must have felt that even a modest fortune was an insult. Certainly Columbus had unleashed as much change — both creative and destructive — as any one person has ever done. And in his arrival, the continent's future character was firmly conceived.

[For further reading: William and Carla Phillips. *The World of Christopher Columbus* (Cambridge University Press, 1992).]



Gentennial Documents

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ST. LOUIS BRIDGE COMPANY

The Illinois & St. Louis Bridge Company was chartered by an Act of Congress of July 20, 1868 for the construction of a raif-road bridge across the Mississippi River at St. Louis. The bridge, financed primarily with British capital, was the first large structure of any kind built of steel. (One of the major subcontractors was Andrew Carnegie's Keystone Bridge Company). This was a major technological development, which proved the feasibility of building bridges capable of bearing the increasing weight of post-Civil War trains. The company was sold under foreclosure and reorganized as the St. Louis Bridge Company, which in turn was leased to the railroads which utilized it.

The vignette, a detailed engraved rendering, nevertheless hardly does justice to the bridge which, even before its opening on Jufy 4, 1874, was considered an engineering wonder. Were it not for the Brooklyn Bridge, under construction at the time in New York, the St. Louis Bridge (and its builder James Buchanan Eads) would certainly be far better known to the general public.

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Smithsonian Museum of the American Indian moving to the Alexander Hamilton U.S. Custom House

Although the National Museum of the American Indian is not scheduled to open until the Spring of 1994, a special exhibit, "Pathways of Tradition," will be on view from November 15, 1992 until January 24, 1993. The exhibit will contain objects representing tribes from North, South and Central America and the Caribbean. In addition to the exhibit, public performances of Native American dance will be a weekly feature on Saturday and Sunday afternoons from November 15 through January 24 (except Christmas weekend). The exhibit will be open from 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. daily. Admission is free. For more information call (212) 283-2420.

Profits in the Wilderness

Entrepreneurship and the Founding of New England Towns in the Seventeenth Century

By John Frederick Martin

The country that became the United States of America was capitalist even in the womb. Many of its colonies, and the towns within them, were conceived as stock companies, constructed to generate profits, and promoted as investments that would enrich their shareholders.

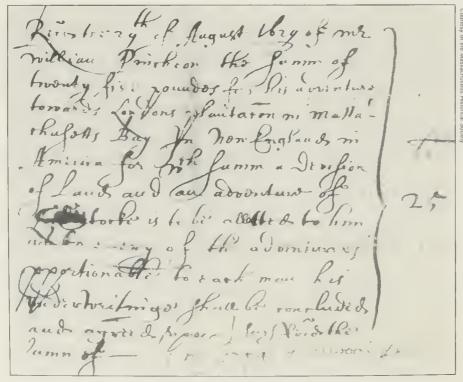
The reason was simple: Funding a settlement in the New World was expensive and complicated. The settlers, whose labor had lured the shareholders' capital, could not even take up their new lands and become productive until the corporation had stamped its preliminary organization on the wilderness. The right site had to be chosen, the General Court's permission obtained, the land purchased from the Indians. Then the township had to be surveyed and the lots laid out for homes, crops, timber, and pasture. Roadbeds had to be plotted and rivers bridged. Indians, surveyors, and lotlayers all had to be paid. Trees were plentiful, but sawmills were not, so lumber had to be bought and brought in. Nails, glass, wheels, farm implements, even livestock, often had to be shipped all the way from England. In theory, once the materials were purchased, the settlers themselves would build the houses, bridges, and roads—but there often were too few settlers, so labor as well as materials had to be purchased.

To succeed, a corporation needed to be led by men who understood complex organizations and could win approval in the courts, efficiently divide the land, provision the raw materials and labor, assess taxes, and manage the new town. Luring reputable leaders and establishing effective management were vital to the success of early New England towns, since financial and human capital tended to flow fastest to the best-organized settlements.

Towns needed a mechanism to pool the efforts of many people, a principle for raising the money to buy the land and commission the survey, a system for holding and then sharing the land. Above all, founding new towns required risk, expense, and travail. Nonresidents risked their capital and gave their name and time to the enterprise; residents risked their labor and even their lives. Both groups had a special stake, an interest to protect, an investment from which they expected a return. The organizational challenge was to inspire individual initiative and to apportion rights and duties, while rewarding all the town founders commensurately to the risks they had taken, either with their labor or their capital.

The ideal organizational model was the English joint-stock company, which was already propelling the commercial expansion of early Stuart England. Until the 15th Century, English merchants had used two main techniques of business organization: guilds and partnerships. Then new mining ventures and foreign trade called for more capital than partnerships could provide, and merchants designed the regulated company, an association governed by rules and capable of joint, corporate action. But regulated companies did not directly carry on business activities or pay a return on shares; instead, they funneled capital to their members, who still acted individually in the manner of guild members and mercantile partners. Driven by the need for even greater capital and better management, the first major English joint-stock company, the Russia Company, appeared in 1553.

Joint-stock companies provided an investment opportunity to people who lacked the inclination or ability to conduct a particular enterprise themselves; the lure of sharing in their profits enabled these companies to raise far more capital than



Receipt to William Pynchon for share of stock in the Massachusetts Bay Company, signed by George Harwood, Treasurer, Pynchon went on to become one of the pre-eminent land developers in New England.

partnerships and regulated companies had ever commanded.

But Elizabethan joint-stock ventures were primitive. They kept the number of shares fixed; to raise more money, they did not issue more shares but levied assessments upon existing shares. These repeated subscriptions often burdened shareholders, who then divided their shares into fractions and sold these portions to others. Elizabethan companies did not distinguish between capital and dividends. Often they paid for capital expenditures out of revenue that, in a modern company, would have gone to dividends, and often they paid dividends out of capital assets. Legal incorporation was rare. Voting was by hands, not shares, in nearly all the early joint-stock companies; the owner of one share had the same voting power as the owner of 1,000 shares.

As time went by, merchants steadily refined the corporation. In the 17th Century, they assigned the administrative tasks to a governor and his assistants, who became the first professional managers. They began setting



Portrait of John Winthrop, Sr. (1588-1649), the organizer of the Massachusetts Bay Company and first governor of the Colony, painted by Charles Osgood

aside a permanent stock of capital — what modern investors call retained earnings — instead of raising new funds for each new voyage or venture. This development of permanent stocks was led by the plantation companies.

whose members prudently took a longterm attitude toward their investment in the gradual rise of land values and agricultural production in the colonies. By the 1690s, joint-stock companies had so proliferated that an open market in shares sprang up in London.

The search for profits in America had begun in the 1610s and 1620s as the first English adventurers launched an assortment of enterprises in northern New England. These entrepreneurs invested in fisheries, timber harvesting, and crops like silkworms and wine grapes with the expectation of reaping profits. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in writing a narrative of his effort to colonize northern New England from 1606 to 1620, declared that he lost some of his investors in colonization projects precisely because profits were not forthcoming. Christopher Levett, another member of the Council of New England, argued for the establishment of North American colonies as a way to increase lishing profits. These English entrepreneurs also recruited farmers to come cultivate their American lands and fishermen to ply the coastal waters

Frustration

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ERNST & COMPANY

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Without joint-stock companies, it is hard to see how the capital necessary for recruitment and development could have been raised. In 1622, Captain John Mason's Laconia Company obtained from the Plymouth council a grant of all the land between the Merrimack and Kennebec rivers. From 1623 on, the Laconia Company sent settlers to several places on the Piscataqua River, which runs along the New Hampshire and Maine boarder, to found a fishing enterprise there. Once there, the settlers were Mason's tenants and his employees. Mason reported that he never made any money there, but by his death in 1635, he had spent 22,000 pounds trying — sending supplies, livestock, tradesmen, and more than seventy settlers to the Piscataqua.

There were many such settler recruitment schemes. In 1630, another

group of London entrepreneurs, the Lygonia Company, sent a shipload of farmers to begin an agricultural plantation at Casco Bay; but the farmers gave up the next year. In February, 1629/30, the Plymouth council granted Thomas Lewis and Richard Bonython a tract of land near the Saco River. because they "with their associates and Company have undertaken at their own proper Costs and Charges to transport fifty persons thither within seven yeares next Ensueing." This venture was the beginning of Saco and Scarborough, Maine. It would not be the last time a governing authority encouraged the recruitment of settlers with the gift of land.

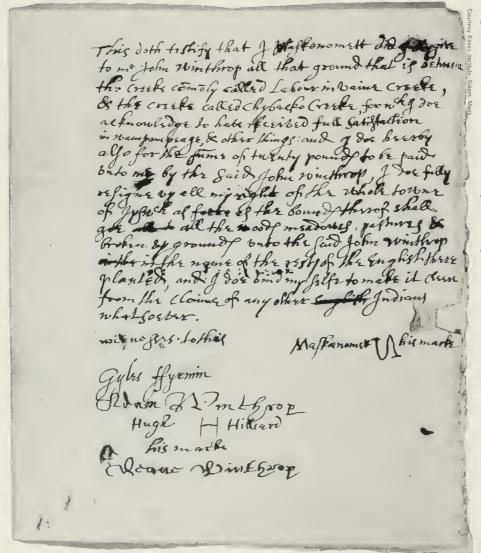
Sometimes the English investors recruited settlers purely to profit from the steerage. By the 1640s, William Bradford wrote that "some begane to make a trade of it, to transeport passen-



John Wimhrop, Jr., like his father, had a distinct impact on the early North American colonies as an industrious entrepreneur. Portrait by Charles Osgood.

gers and their goods, and hired ships for that end... And by this means the cuntrie became pestered with many unworthy persons." The English investors also rented out land for profit. In the 1630s, Sir Ferdinando Gorges (who had also participated in the Laconia venture) advertised for settlers to "plant in any part of his limits" in Maine, promising them as much land as they needed for a yearly rent of two shillings per hundred acres (which later went up as high as five shillings). These fees, the vestiges of feudal tenure, were quitrents, which were paid not to satisfy a lease but rather in lieu of services that the noble landowner might require. Some of the English investors even profited from a form of sharecropping. Samuel Allen, the Englishman who bought the province of New Hampshire in 1691, explained to a fellow proprietor: "I intend to goe there to take order about settling some servants to improve my Land there. Eyther by granting deeds to them and their heires for ever Reserveing a quitt Rent, which is my waye I take in this province, or putting in Servants of my owne to manage it with a stock, allowing them 1/2 the increase for their paynes, which is the coustoms of these partes."

In these early ventures, English entrepreneurs pioneered the techniques of settler recruitment and land renting later used by town founders. But most of the New World's first businesses



Deed from Indian chief Masconomet to John Winthrop Jr. for the land making up the town of Ipswich and its surrounding areas, for the amount of £20, 1637.

failed. Afflicted by diseases, shocked by the inclement climate, sometimes attacked by the Indians, many of the settlers died or gave up, depriving the ventures of their labor. The silkworms and vineyards died in the wintry winds of the new coastland, where most of the absentee investors did not even dare set foot.

But the plantation companies, those corporations created in the early 17th Century to colonize America, carried English business experience to the New World. They also brought a radical new view of land, which to them was not so much a hereditary holding as a transferable asset: a dividend to be paid to shareholders, a commodity to be sold to settlers. Two of the first plantation companies were the Plymouth Company and the Massachusetts Bay Company.

Several months before the Separatists left Leiden, they drafted an agreement just as important as the more famous Mayflower Compact that followed. This business covenant established the financial arrangements between the Pilgrims and their backers in

London: the "planters," as the Pilgrims were called, agreed to contribute their labor toward building a profitable venture in the New World, while the investors, or "adventurers," put up their capital. Each planter received one share for venturing himself and an additional share for every ten pounds he ventured; the adventurers remaining in London bought stock at the rate of ten pounds a share. At the end of seven years, the company's profits and capital assets — lands, buildings, and livestock — were to be "equally" divided among the "whole company" of planters and adventurers, in proportion to the number of shares held by each. (Four years before, the Virginia Company had pegged its shares at £12 10s. and ordered land distributed at 100 acres per share.)

The founders of the Massachusetts Bay Company, some of whom had also invested in the Plymouth Company, devised similar financial arrangements. They pledged to pay dividends in land: 200 acres for every 50 pounds subscribed. When the colonists went to America, the joint stock was dissolved,

and the Massachusetts Bay Co. became more a commonwealth than a business. But the company's business functions did not all cease. As late as the 1650s, the General Court was still granting parcels of land as "dividents" on the stock subscriptions of adventurers.

Some of the early colonists, having been shareholders and even officers of the Plymouth Company, the Dorchester Company, the Massachusetts Bay Company, and other plantation companies, were familiar with these corporate practices. The leading founder of New Haven, Theophilus Eaton, had been deputy governor of the East India Company. New England's first leaders needed no coaching in how to put together a business corporation. Nor was it a great logical leap to apply the principles for settling a colony to settling a town. Many problems, particularly the question of holding and dividing land, were identical. The very first towns of New England, which were founded not by colonial legislatures, but directly by the plantation companies, were governed by the same

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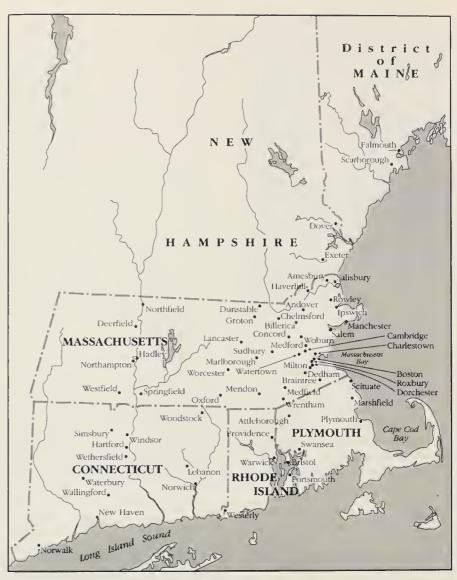
business principles.

Plymouth was such a town. Before the seven-year deadline for distributing the company's assets ran out, the planters in Plymouth bought out their partners in London. But the Pilgrims did not drop the principles that had governed their joint-stock company. Although they proceeded to divide land among many more people, they did so according to shares: 20 acres per share. Salem, the next town founded as the outpost of an English company, had a similar beginning. The Dorchester Company started this village in 1624, then conveyed it to the Massachusetts Bay Company when the Dorchester Company dissolved. In 1629, Governor Endicott divided land at Salem among adventurers according to the capital they had subscribed. Dover, New Hampshire, also begun as a company town, distributed its land as dividends among shareholders.

When the colonists set about owning, settling, and dividing vacant lands they inevitably followed the example of the plantation companies. Town founders did not seek profit in every case — certainly that was not the primary motive of the founders of Warwick, Rhode Island —but they almost always apportioned rights and responsibilities according to people's interest and acted through a corporate structure resembling the English joint-stock company.

Whether it was a large land company or a single town proprietorship, the parallels between New England land associations and the English jointstock company are striking. Like the stock company, land corporations limited their beneficiaries to those with shares, held the number of shares fairly constant, fixed the value of shares proportional to investment, and distributed land, raised revenue, and sometimes even counted votes according to shares. Like English plantation companies, both land companies and towns merged public and private affairs, the community and the corporation. Both served public interests while producing private profits. Both treated land as a reward for investment. Both provided an investment opportunity to individuals who could not devote their full attention to the enterprise of townfounding.

Just as English joint-stock com-



New England Towns in the Seventeenth Century

panies induced the gentry to invest in mercantile ventures, so did the corporate structure of New England towns enable city-dwellers to invest in wilderness settlements without becoming pioneers.

No two towns were the same. But every group of town founders had to face the problems of organizing individuals, financing costs, dividing land, and attracting participants. The business corporation, patterned after the plantation companies and the first company towns, answered these needs by uniting people in a common network of obligations and rewards.

The first event in the life of a town corporation was the agreement that created it. Of the more than 60 towns surveyed here, about half had agreements that have survived or are documented. In most cases, agreements bound subscribers to perform certain common tasks; dividing the land, set-

tling their lots, paying rates, and so forth. To hold, manage, and develop the lands in a new town, people needed a secular business organization distinct from the church and congregation. In only 12 of 53 towns — fewer than one-quarter — was the church formed at the same time as the town. In some cases, settlers did not get around to forming a church for up to 20 years after a town was settled. Even in the 1630s and 1640s, settlement usually preceded the establishment of churches.

Although some things could wait, forming the land corporation could not. Founders could do without churches, meetinghouses, and ministers, but they could not live on the land without purchasing it, organizing themselves as tenants in common, and creating a system for sharing costs and dividing the property.

The leaders of the new towns (Continued on page 28)



"A field anthropologist from the new Museum of American Financial History, sir."

Drawing by W. Miller; 1992 The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

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Politicians and the Financial Markets at the Museum of American Financial History

In the midst of the presidential campaign, the Museum of American Financial History quietly opened its second exhibit at 24 Broadway. The new show, "Politicians and the Financial Markets," on exhibit through February, 1993, contains artifacts pertaining to different political events, issues and personalities which appear on financial documents. The three segments of this new exhibit are Political Satire, "Selfing" or "Decorating" Stocks and Bonds, and Their Own Affairs.

Satirical financial items have long been used in the United States to make political points. The **Political Satire** segment features objects representing some of the major financial controversies in the Unites States such as the bitter fight over the re-chartering of the Bank of the United States in the Jackson era, the soft money versus hard money controversies of the Greenback Party in the late 19th Century, and the "Frozen Dollar" of Richard Nixon, relating to the price controls he tried to use to stop inflation in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Satirical currency has been the most common manifestation of this type of propaganda probably because it could be printed and circulated easily.

The idea of using popular political figures to help sell or decorate securities or other financial instruments is the theme of the second segment titled



This \$1000 note is an example of anti-Greenback propaganda. To encourage "easy money," currency not backed by gold or silver, farmers organized the Greenback Party in the mid-1870s. Signed by Brijamin F. Butler, a notorious Union Civil War General and later leading Greenback party figure, this note is a play on the type of language that might appear on currency redeemable in precious metals: "redeemable in gold at the U.S. Treasury in Washington."

"Selling" or "Decorating" Stocks and Bonds. Before the Government issued currency in 1862, the private bank notes that the nation used for paper money frequently carried portraits of political figures. The Mechanics Bank of Memphis note illustrates this well, using three national figures: Benjamin Franklin, a symbol of thrift, Andrew Jackson, a local hero, and George Washington, easily the most popular figure and "the father of our country". What type of company would use the image of modern political figures for this purpose?

Their Own Affairs illustrates the contact political figures had with the financial world through their bank accounts, and in some cases, through ownership of securities, or occasionally through their jobs before or after their government service. Some of the objects representing this contact include a check drawn on The Harding Publishing Company, issued to, and signed by Warren G. Harding as president, while he was serving as President of the United States, and a Joy Industries stock certificate registered to Spiro Agnew, with a separate stock power signed by him.

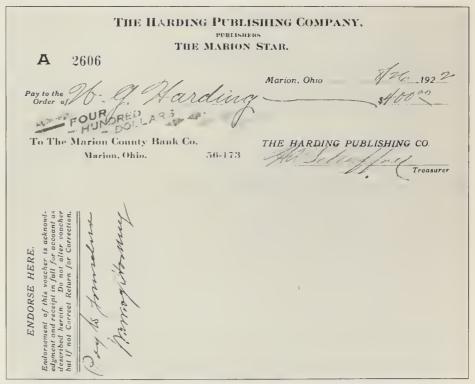
The objects in this exhibit constitute a very small sampling of the evidence that exists on the interaction of politics and the markets, and are presented for the viewers' appreciation and enjoyment. Although some might say that the capital markets - stocks, bonds, and commodities - are governed by economics and the laws of supply and demand, most observers feel these markets are the most sensitive barometer of anxieties and expectations of investors and speculators with respect to their ever-changing assessments of political events. What do you think?



The Merchants Bank of Memphis \$5 bank note, from 1854, features portraits of three famous American political figures: Franklin, Washington and Jackson.

The Museum of American Financial History is located at 24 Broadway at Bowling Green, in lower Manhattan. Hours are Monday through Friday, 11:30

a.m. to 2:30 p.m., and by appointment. Group visits are welcome. For exhibit and travel information, please call (212)908-4110. Admission is free.



A check drawn on The Harding Publishing Company, issued to, and signed by Warren G. Harding as president, while he was serving as President of the United States, Angust 26, 1929.

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BOOKS

Something Old ...

Robert C. Alberts, *The Golden Voyage: The Life and Times of William Bingham*, 1752-1804 (Houghton Mifflin, 1969).

Scripophilists readily recognize the name of William Bingham as the first president and manager of the Philadelphia & Lancaster Turnpike in 1791, whose signature appears on that company's stock certificates. Most collectors also know that the parchment certificates of this early, successful turnpike bear the oldest known vignette on a U.S. stock certificate. But the fascination with Bingham should not end there, because he was one of the most influential business and political leaders in Colonial times. His estate produced income for his heirs for 160 years after his death in 1804.

As a Philadelphia merchant, Bingham owned a fleet of ships at sea and 4 million acres of land in Pennsylvania, New York, and Maine. Before the age of 40 he was the richest man in America. Robert C. Alberts' *The Golden Voyage: The Life and Times of William Bingham, 1752-1804* is a complete biography that not only relates the facts of Bingham's remarkable life, but also provides an important view of Colonial life, business and economic activities.

From today's perspective, it is difficult to imagine how one individual could have been so instrumental in so many aspects of the development of the country's commerce. In June, 1780, Bingham was part of the "patriotic scheme of opulent merchants..." of Philadelphia that founded the Bank of Pennsylvania, providing the means to supply the Revolutionary troops. The next year, Bingham founded and was the first director of the Bank of North America, which abandoned pounds, shillings, and pence and adopted dollars and cents. The American \$ sign, however, did not make its appearance until after 1800. Later Bingham advised Alexander



William Bingham, 1752-1804, remembered fondly by his descendants for the "Bingham Estate," which paid royalties well into the 20th Century.

Hamilton on fiscal policy, and was a founder, in 1791, of the Bank of the United States.

While serving the developing nation, his personal commercial activities were even more extensive. Alberts' access to the Bingham papers brings extensive but readable detail to the business dealings that left a trust that existed for 160 years. In his attempt to control his wealth even after death, William Bingham's trust became after 50 years the "Bingham Estate" that renewed itself, functioned, and paid enormous sums annually to an ever-widening number of heirs. Even greater wealth materialized in 1878, when oil and gas were discovered on Bingham's lands in Pennsylvania's McKean County. Oil royalties really began to flow in 1914, 104 years after his death. By 1964 the assets of the estate totaled of \$838,000 in cash. The administration to 315 heirs, some in England, had become so costly that a judge finally terminated the trust. The heirs received shares from \$25 to \$55,000.

The story of Bingham's wealth, acquired as the United States developed, will hold readers' interest throughout. Alberts has provided a valuable insight into the life of the wealthy Colonialists and the economic and business decisions that

laid the foundations of our economy. Full of interesting detail, this is recommended reading for this period of history. *The Golden Voyage: The Life and Times of William Bingham, 1752-1804* can be found in out-of-print bookstores usually for under \$25.

— Ray Boas

... Something New

John Dennis Brown, 101 Years on Wall Street, An Investor's Almanac (Prentice Hall, 1991, \$26.95).

Not a normal financial history book, 101 Years on Wall Street records, analyzes, correlates, and explains past events as they affected the financial markets year by year from 1890 through 1990. One-third of the book is yearly retrospects, usually of a page or two that gives you a brief window into that year. Along the way, you learn lots of odds and ends about panics, crises, and the movements of individual stocks. To illustrate, General Motors fell by 39 points the black war days of July, 1914, and hit a high of 850 in late autumn 1916. The Dow's annual gain of 81.7% in 1915 has never been challenged. The worst annual loss — 52.7% — was in 1931 not, as I had thought, in 1932. Looking back now, the 1949 low offered rare bargains by any historic measurement. In 1953, Friday, October 9, was the last day that NYSE volume was less than one million shares with only 900,000 shares traded.

Why did Brown take 1890 as the first year? Because it is the first full year of statistics for a Dow Jones average which can be tracked continuously up to present times. So the book continues with forgotten facts as the price level keeps charging upward. Numbers expand and we can't really imagine what it was like before speeded telecommunications and computers. There is advice for the 1990s with common sense suggestions of what to look for and how to treat yourself as an investor.

The major bull markets since 1890 are discussed in chronological order with charts as useful guidelines along with other, shorter-term

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bull sequences. Brown lists all the buying and selling panics, including important one-day buying panics. A short discussion of the Dow Jones stock averages lists the 20 original rails and the 12 original industrials, along with more historical records and market activity records.

The decennial pattern of each year's gains and losses is explained with examples on a monthly basis. Use this as a dictionary or reference book rather than as an easy read of financial history. The glossary is adequate and the index is useful. You can treat Brown's book as a full pool of information that can be dipped into at any time. You can always find something that might help you to understand whatever is happening in the market today. Plus, you learn a bit about the past. That is not all bad.

— James L. Fraser

Books Received

(Listing does not preclude further review.)

Axtell, James. *Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial North America* (Oxford University Press, 1992, \$14). A paperback collection of essays that attempt to illustrate the nature and moral consequences of the relationships between Europeans, Africans and Indians from 1492 to 1792 in North America. Although this work looks primarily at the cultural interaction between of the times, Axtell does examine the economic factors that were a part of these relationships.

Fritz Stern, Gold and Iron: Bismarck, Bleichröder, and the German Empire (Alfred A. Knopf, 1991, \$40). An extensive look at the complex relationship between Bismarck, the prominent leader of Germany in the late-19th Century, and Bleichröder, Bismarck's private banker, and more importantly, his confidant in politics and diplomacy for three decades. Stern goes on to explore the relationship that existed between Bleichröder and a social hierarchy that saw Jews as a foreign and inferior group.

David A. Vise and Steve Coll, Eagle on the Street (Collier Books, Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992, \$14). The paperback reprint of the 1991 Pulitzer-Prize winning account of the SEC's battle with Wall Street. A look behind the scenes at the SEC and an account of how Reaganomics and SEC chairman John Shad brought deregulation to the stock market and helped fuel the great bull market while planting some of the seeds for the 1987 crash.

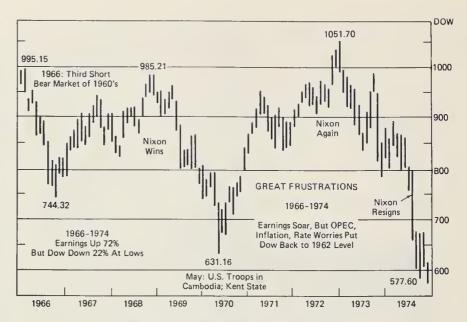


Figure 4.8 Dow Jones Industrial Average, 1966-1974

Two of the many charts found in Brown's book, which clearly illustrate market reaction to various events in American and world history over the past hundred years.

TABLE 9-4 WAR AND THE THREAT OF WAR Market Reaction to Hostilities^a

Event and Date	Short- term Dow change	Dow three months later	Dow six months later	Dow one year la- ter	Comments
War threat with England December 1895			 ter border dis after January		President Cleveland seen to threaten war over Monroe Doctrine violation.
Battleship Maine sunk in Havana Feb- ruary 1898	-14.8% Peace treaty Maine loss.	-6.6% signed less	Plus than six mont	— hs after	War on Spain de- clared on April 25. By then, it had been discounted.
United Kingdom suf- fered heavy reverses, Boer War December 1899		lling. Loss o	-3.7% an Rails—do n 18th would		London big seller. United States feared U.K. credits would be called.
World War I July 1914	-11.6% NYSE closed	Lower Jly 30 to De	-3.5% ec 12, 1914.	Plus	Unofficial Dow level of late October was World War I low.
United States and Germany broke rela- tions February 1917			-3.9% paign, break v 3% in two day		President Wilson's war request cost Dow 6.6% in three-week April period.
World War II Sep- tember 1939	+16.0 Exception to ish.	+8.4% the rule tha	+4.0% t first war nev	-5.5% ws is bear-	Market held gain un- til May 1940 "blitz."
Pearl Harbor December 1941	-8.8% World War I	-10.3% I low came i	-10.5% n April 1942.	-1.2%	Pearl Harbor Dow level not crested until January, 1943.
Korea June 1950	-12.0% June 24 NYS 1939.	Plus E volume la	Plus argest since Se	Plus eptember	Dow at record high by December 1950.
Cuban Missile Crisis September-October 1962	-8.2% November re 1939.	Plus flex made it	Plus best Dow mor	Plus nth since	Dangerous October confrontation over in few days,
Gulf of Tonkin August 1964	-2.1% This was sta		Plus "United State ement was als		LBJ: PT boats at- tacked two U.S. de- stroyers.
Iraq invaded Kuwait August 1990	-14.5% Oil prices, oi	-14.2% I stocks soar	-5.8% ed early on.	Plus	American troops ar- rived in Saudi Ara- bia August 8.

^{*20-}Stock or Dow Rail Average in 1895, 1898, and 1899. Dow Industrials thereafter.



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An American Dealer in a Foreign Land

Recollections of the 31st International Stock and Bond Auction and Collectors Meet

By David Strebe

In mid-September, I attended the 31st International Stock and Bond Auction and Collectors' meet in 5 Frankfurt, Germany. As a full-time stock and bond dealer, I had attended many similar events, including the Memphis Paper Money show and the Strasburg auction. On my first visit to an auction and show outside the United States, I felt somewhat apprehensive. My concerns were quickly put aside. There were a number of familiar faces from both sides of the Atlantic. Bruce Heiner, Richard Urmston, and Scott Winslow, all dealers from the U.S., were selling securities at the show. There were a number of familiar European dealers who frequently travel to the U.S. shows, and they were all very hospitable to their foreign guests. And I was relieved to learn that most Europeans speak English; even so, they seemed to appreciate my clumsy attempts at deutsch sprechen.

A number of collectors arrived several days before the auction and quickly began trading securities. The main activities of the weekend centered on the 824 - lot auction on Saturday and the bourse on Sunday. The auction was quite successful, but not very exciting to most American collectors. Auctions are run differently in Europe: Each lot has an estimated value, as is typically the case in the U.S., but at the Frankfurt auction, the estimate was also the minimum or "start" bid. This estimate is usually about the going rate for the lot, so the lot generally sells at the "start" bid or does not sell at all (the item is passed). So bidding is short and sluggish.

Roughly 5% of the lots were American certificates, including a number of Confederate state bonds. The lew American lots seemed to fare well. Six different varieties of American Express sold; the most impressive was



This American Express Type II certificate features the popular train vignette and is signed by Hemy Wells, December 30, 1859. A similar certificate went for nearly \$4,000 at the recent auction in Frankfurt, Germany.

a Type II, featuring the attractive train vignette, signed by William G. Fargo, Henry Wells and Alex Holland. This lot sold for 5800 DM (about \$3,875). A Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad certificate signed by John D. Rockefeller sold at the "start" price of 3700 DM (about \$2,500). A Playboy certificate went for 450 DM (\$300) and a decorative Ringling Brothers from 1969 brought 1000 DM (about \$670). A Mortgage bond signed by Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna failed to meet the reserve price of 2750 DM (\$1850). Confederate bonds seemed strong, with about twenty lots being sold.

The vast majority of the auction lots were European certificates. And the types of European lots that were selling showed that European collectors value graphics more highly than Americans do. Some very beautifully printed stocks and bonds brought high prices at the auction, including an 1872 certificate from the Frankfurt Zoo that fetched 4000 DM (\$2,700) in spirited bidding. However, an even greater amount of activity was seen on the plain, his-

torically important pieces. This was apparent in the excited bidding on a 1856 Bank of Frankfurt stock certificate that looked quite ordinary to me, but fetched 13,000 DM (about \$8,700)! To an American collector this bidding style did not seem to have much rhyme or reason. The total gross at the auction was 425,795 DM (\$290,000).

Overall, the show was not as exciting as I had anticipated. The crowd was large and enthusiastic, but at least two-thirds of those attending appeared to be looking for a particular European issue. Those who were looking for U.S. securities seemed to face the same problem that often occurs at American shows: there was not enough fresh material on the market. It was surprising that 98% of all the U.S. material I saw consisted of the more common items seen at the American shows. Still, activity in the U.S. material was encouraging.

Generally, German collectors were not as fluent in English as the dealers and hotel staff, but communication was possible. The Sunday show was very busy from start to finish. When it was over. I had a § greater appreciation of the worldwide scope of scripophily, as well as a fondness for Germany's people. language, and food. I recognized the difficulties of participating in a securities show in a foreign country: the limit to the amount of stocks you can fit in your luggage, the different currency and language, as well as fatigue from the trans-Atlantic flight. As a result of my experiences, I plan to extend every kindness possible to the foreign dealers attending the Strasburg show in January, 1993, and the Memphis show in June, in the hope of making them feel as welcome as they made me.

Auf Wiedersehen!



Confederate States of America, \$500 loan at 8%, "authorized by the act of Congress, C.S.A. of April 12, 1862." Confederate material continues to be popular among European collectors.

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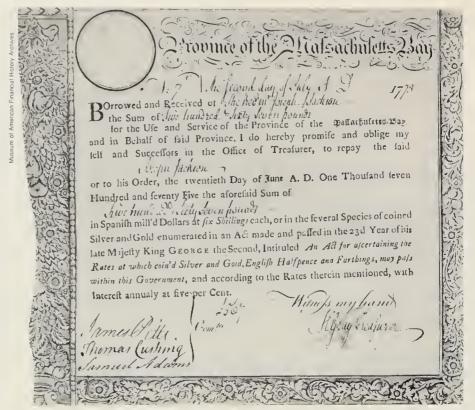


often got the equivalent of the "golden handcuffs" that bind modern business executives to their companies. Ipswich tried to keep its founder, John Winthrop, Jr., from leaving by granting him large portions of land. "This remote Corner," Ipswich settlers wrote in a plaintive petition to the General Court, "would be left destitute and desolate" if Winthrop departed. It was "for his sake that many of us came to this place."

So towns often gave land to prominent men without even requiring them to live there. The most dynamic of these figures profited handsomely by imparting their status to several towns, each of which would then grant them property. As they shifted their support to new settlements, these town promoters kept their lands in the old towns; thus they built the first fortunes in North America. One such entrepreneur, Cornelius Waldo, was born in England in 1624. Coming to New England, he moved to Ipswich, then helped found Chelmsford, Mass., in 1654, and then turned up in Dunstable. Waldo also was one of the investors in the Wamesit Purchase in 1686, a venture launched to start a settlement on the Merrimack River, which eventually became Lowell, Mass. Waldo did not own vast estates, but he did help start new towns and kept property and businesses in the towns he left behind.

But these entrepreneurial frontiersmen alone were not enough to ensure a town's success. Settlements needed political leaders who could secure the approval of the General Court. For their legal work, these leaders often gave themselves, or were given, shares in the new towns entitling them to large tracts of land.

One of the most prominent settlement entrepreneurs was Daniel Gookin, who held many important offices in the Bay Colony, including superintendent of Indians and major general, or commander in chief, of the colony's forces. His involvement in the founding of Worcester shows how the early town corporations worked. In 1664, several individuals purchased a large tract of land on the site of what would become Worcester. The next year, the court appointed Gookin and three other men to survey the site and report on its



Province of the Massachusetts Bay receipt, July 2, 1773, issued to Reverend Joseph Jackson, for the loan of £567 "for the use and service of the Province." The signature of Samuel Adams, as a committee member, appears in the lower left.

suitability for a town. A few years later, Gookin helped lay out the town and drew up "foundation principles and Rules concerning the affayres of that place." These orders provided, among other things, that each inhabitant should receive at least one 25-acre lot and that all public expenses should be paid out of "a common Stock rraised upon the inhabitants in proportion according to their rrespective grants and house lotts."

The purchase of stock entitled a shareholder to own property and build upon it, as well as to share in the benefit of public services. Gookin and his committee accepted 30 men as inhabitants and in 1675 laid out their lots in the new town. Among them were Dr. Leonard Hoar, then president of Harvard and a resident of Cambridge; Ephraim Curtis, a large landowner who lived in Sudbury; and Gookin.

Although not all these men settled in Worcester, they all were useful as financiers who helped fund the "common Stock" that would build the town. But almost immediately, war broke out with the Indians, and the settlement was destroyed. After several years of abandonment, Captain Daniel Henchman (who was also a committee member and fellow grantee) led the resettle-

ment of the town in 1682. In return, he and his "undertakers" received 200 lots of land. Under this arrangement, the original grantees in effect subcontracted the settlement obligation to a company of "undertakers." The scheme worked, and Worcester, after still more fighting with the Indians, went on to become one of the colony's leading towns.

The political leadership of a new town carried great economic power. Gookin and his colleagues were first appointed by the General Court as public officers who would examine, evaluate, and help settle the land. Yet at the same time they acted as the directors of the proprietors of Worcester. They held rights to the undivided land (which they parceled out among themselves), convened proprietors' meetings, and rented and sold their lands there. In the covenant they drew up for inhabitants, the committee members stressed that the plantation had been granted by the General Court "unto" Gookin and the three other members of the committee. Not only did these men supervise the town; they also appear to have owned it. In the founders of Worcester, personal interest was married to public duty. And the

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absentee owners held the reigns of power for decades: In 1732, the proprietors of Worcester debated whether to name a resident as town clerk for the first time, nearly 60 years after the town was first settled.

Some early towns — New Haven, Exeter, and Hartford foremost among them — were launched by ministers seeking a religious refuge. But many — probably most — were founded with the assistance of people who had no interest in settling on the frontier and who instead expected to make a profit as a reward for their long and arduous work. In 43 of the 63 towns studied here, non-residents owned land. Additional absentees owned land through other entities, primarily land companies and individual speculative ventures.

The numerical evidence alone is a striking indication that those who shouldered the burdens of town-founding must have been motivated by the expectation of profit: Of the 66 commoners of Dedham who held the original tract of Deerfield, not a single one

became a permanent resident of Deerfield. Of the 113 Cambridge grantces of the tract that became Billerica, at most two settled there; fully 60% of the town's land was owned by absented investors, including Governor Winthrop, Governor Dudley, Daniel Gookin, and Harvard President Henry Dunster. The same pattern held not only in Massachusetts but up and down the seacoast, in Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Plymouth, and Rhode Island.

Town promoters also owned far more acres than did the average New Englander; the median landholdings among these leaders was 950 acres, more than ten times the median for the population at large. Their pattern of landholding — huge quantities, chopped into parcels, scattered far and wide — is testimony to their entrepreneurial interest in land.

How did these pioneering speculators make money? First, town promoters sold their rights to the undivided lands and pasturage. Of the original Deerfield owners (all of whom

were nonresident), many sold their rights to other nonresidents like John Pynchon and Governor Leverctt. A market in land shares — probably the earliest securities traded in North America — sprang up by the mid-17th Century. Nearly all the shares of Sowams changed hands in the 1650s. as did the shares of the Deerfield proprietorship in the 1660s and 1670s. Instead of trading land, the investors in Billcrica more often conveyed land rights; proprietors in the towns of Northfield, Oxford, Worcester, Norwalk, Rowley, Bristol, Swansea, and Warwick all traded their rights to undivided land.

As the result of being transferable, shares were also divisible, just like the shares in Elizabethan joint-stock companies. Cambridge had 238.5 "cow commons" by 1665, and Manchester had 29.25 "shares" by 1678. In Rehoboth North Purchase (later Attleborough) in the 1660s, there were 79.5 shares. In Ipswich and elsewhere, people frequently owned double shares, or two shares, and sometimes more.

Second, absentee owners sold town lots or large farms in towns: Edward Collins bought most of the land in Medford from Mathew Cradock's estate in 1652 and then proceeded to sell parcels in later years (including one 400-acre lot for £404). Of the 51 owners of home lots in Norwalk, Connecticut, during that town's first twenty years, fourteen bought their lots from original shareholders. Third, town promoters sold tracts outside the towns to speculators or settlers who gambled that the towns would soon expand into the neighboring wilderness: In 1672 Daniel Gookin sold to Boston's Simon Lynde a farm in the Pequot country for £206 only a few years after receiving the grant for free.

Fourth, absentec owners could reap rental income from their lands. Shareholders of the land companies operating in Rhode Island, the Atherton and Pettaquamscut ventures, put tenants on their lands. The settlers of Braintree complained about the nonresidents who owned the bulk of the town's land and rented it at "dear rates." Governor Simon Bradstreet rented his lands in Lynn, Topsfield, and Andover, with the last one bringing in £5 a year. And between 1652 and 1702, nearly one-third of all the adult males in Spring-



Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, June 27, 1775, indented note, with an illustration featuring a codfish, a patriot holding a liberty-capped staff, the monogram "CMB" and "American Paper." The Colony, by this time, had come quite a way from its early governance by John Winthrop. Sr., who strongly opposed democratic tendencies.

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field rented either land or livestock from John Pynchon.

But these receipts were not just the noblesse oblige of an indolent upper caste. When town promoters helped found a settlement, they assumed a responsibility to people the wilderness, even when they remained absentee owners. For town promoters to have any hope of making a profit, they needed settlers who would risk the dangers of the frontier for the sake of having land. Sometimes, as in Pynchon's case, the settlers in a town were tenants of the promoters. But in many other cases, the cash flowed in the other direction: To attract inhabitants to what were considered remote and undesirable lands, the town promoters had to pay them. Whichever way the cash flowed in this relationship, the town promoters contributed not only their money, their contacts, and their organizational talent — but also, through their recruitment efforts, even the bodies. The profits earned by the promoters rewarded them for the substantial risks they consistently took with their capital.

Thus in Worcester, a group of "undertakers" shouldered the burden of finding and paying for settlers, reserving lots for themselves as compensation. Westerly's nonresident owners, who included the most prominent men of Newport, were so eager to populate their lands that they offered £5 to each settler; in 1662 the company assessed each proprietor £8 per share to pay for this expense. In the 1690s, the grantees of New Roxbury, Mass., split themselves into two groups: the "goers" who were to settle in the new town and were exempt from taxation, and the absentee "stayers" who enjoyed equal rights to the land and who contributed to the project by financing

This structure dates back to the agreement between the Pilgrims and their backers in London, which stated that the "adventurers" would remain in England and provide the money, the "planters" would go to New England and perform the labor, and both would see a return — one group from its investment, the other from its labor. The Massachusetts Bay Company was organized on the same principle. Mathew Cradock was the largest investor in the company; in return, he

In the sound of th

The tradition of land companies lived on. This North American Land Company share certificate, dated March 10, 1795, is signed by financier Robert Morris.

was granted most of Medford, Massachusetts, known in the 1630s as "Cradock's plantation," which was peopled by Cradock's employees and tenants and managed by Cradock's agent. Cradock himself never even set foot in America. Before the Bay Company was organized, Ferdinando Gorges, John Mason, and other English venturers spent considerable money recruiting settlers for their lands in Maine and New Hampshire. And the settlement of New Amsterdam under the Dutch was largely funded by the investors of the Dutch West India Company.

So when the founders of New Roxbury or Worcester or Westerly divided into "goers" and "stayers," they were using an established model for transatlantic settlement, in which the interests of settlers and financiers were combined in a single enterprise. Both groups were attracted by land: To the goers it would be a new home, while to the stayers it was a commodity. Without either group, the settlements might never have survived.

Throughout New England, certain individuals participated in land development on so large a scale that they constituted a distinct group of entrepreneurs. But to these men, land was just one of many activities that returned a profit and contributed to the expansion of their colonies. Also active in shipping and trade, these entre-

preneurs were not frontiersmen, but wealthy, educated, mostly urban men who often held political or military office. Some of them helped launch four or five towns, and sometimes ten or twenty. They operated in several regions and colonies at once. Often, close business and family relations bound most of these mentogether in an intercolonial network of commerce.

Plymouth, the first New England colony, was rich in these entrepreneurs. None was more prominent than Thomas Willett, a merchant and military leader who came over in 1630. In 1661, on behalf of the colony, he purchased from the Indians a great tract of land north of Rehoboth and Taunton. He later became a shareholder in these purchases, out of which were formed towns of Attleborough, the Cumberland, Norton, Easton, and Mansfield. Willett also owned property in the town of Plymouth. And he bought half of John Tinker's share in the Atherton Company of Rhode Island, which gave him a large farm there. In 1665 Willett became the first English mayor of New York, where he dicd in 1674.

Perhaps Willett's greatest achievement was helping to manage the Sowams purchase, a tract Miles Standish once described as the "garden of the patent." Sowams was granted to Plymouth Colony's leaders — William Bradford, Thomas Prince, Ed-



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Correction...

In our last issue, we incorrectly identified the five illustrations that appeared on pages 14, 15 & 16 as belonging to the CIGNA Museum and Art Collection. The only illustrations that were loaned to Friends by the CIGNA Museum & Art Collection were those of Ebenezer Hazard and Samuel Blodget, Jr. Those lent to us by the CIGNA Archives were: the Universal Tontine certificate, the first page in the 1792 subscription book of the Insurance Company of North America, the first office of the company, a 1792 hand-written policy written by Hazard, and a 1797 share certificate for the company. Our apologies to CIGNA for this mix-up.

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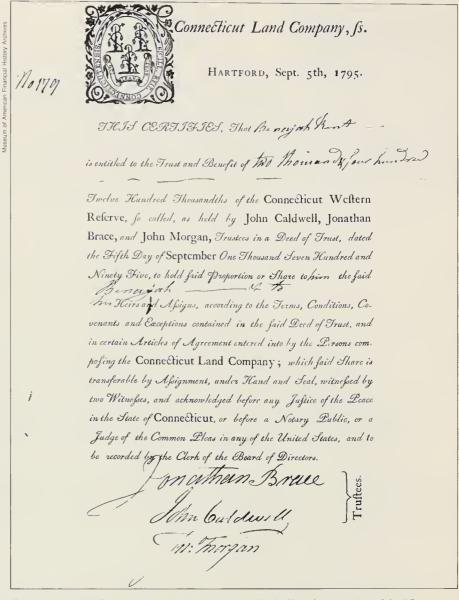
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ward and John Winslow, John Adams, Thomas Cushman, Thomas Clarke, Experience Mitchell, William White, Miles Standish, and Thomas Willett—probably to reward them for personally assuming the colony's debt to the London financial backers. The grant was made in September 1652; by the next April, the grantees were dividing their tract, though all of them had houses in Plymouth, Rehoboth, and other settled towns.

The Sowams proprietors held their meetings in Plymouth. The organization was corporate from the start. It began with a "first originall agreement of the proprietors," stating each investor's share and binding each to pay his portion of common charges. (The initial common charge was 35 pounds owed to Massasoit, chief of the Wampanoags, for the land.) The Sowams venture divided land according to shares, sold lands to pay for common charges, appointed committees to handle company business, and placed some 200 settlers on the Sowams tract by 1667. In that same year, the General Court gathered these settlers into the town of Swansea. Eventually the Sowams tract would encompass the towns of Swansea, Barrington, East Providence, Warren, and Bristol in Rhode Island and Massachusetts.

Between 1654 and 1660, all the original shareholders either died or sold their shares, except Thomas Willett. He led the effort to settle the Sowams tract, sitting on the committee charged with dividing the land, buying many lots distributed to his fellow proprietors, and drafting the rules for admitting inhabitants.

Willett's son-in-law, John Saffin, was a shrewd investor who felt torn by the contradictory commands of his Puritan faith. He called money "the Universall Mistriss that all sorts of men doe Court." Even after he rose to become judge of the Supreme Court, he told his diary he would be happy to "Change the whole life I have liv'd in the Palace, for one hours Enjoyment of God in the Chappell." But whatever his private misgivings, Saffin was a driven entrepreneur. He owned propcrty in Boston, either inherited Willett's rights or purchased rights in the Sowams proprietorship, bought a right in the new town of Bristol (a Plymouth Colony town developed by Boston



Connecticut Land Company certificate issued to Benjamin Kent for a portion of the "Connecticut Western Reserve ... as held by John Caldwell, Jonathan Brace, and John Morgan...," September 5th 1795, signed as trustees by the three.

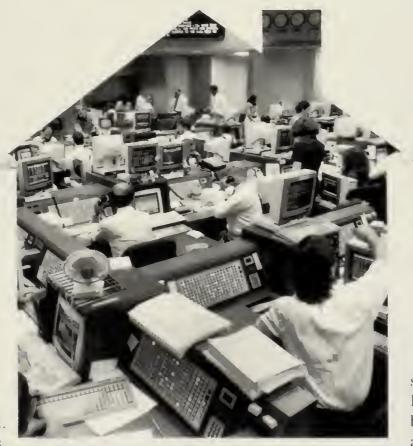
speculators), and purchased several Atherton Company shares and fractions of shares from the heirs of Humphrey Atherton. Saffin went on to become one of the leaders of the Atherton Co.

Stephen Paine was one of the original grantees of the Rehoboth Patent in 1641. He bought into the Rehoboth North Purchase when that grant was made to Rehoboth in 1666. He and a handful of other shareholders (including Willett) owned two shares in that purchase; most of the other investors owned one share each. Like the Atherton and Sowams investors, the owners of the Rehoboth North Purchase assumed various corporate powers. They kept their own records, hired their own surveyors, held their own meetings, and elected their own clerk.

Paine also owned a share of the Sowams company.

Some of these same Plymouth investors joined the effort to exploit the conquered Indian lands after King Philip's War. Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Rhode Island each claimed the desirable site then called Mount Hope. In 1680, the Crown awarded Mount Hope to Plymouth, and immediately the General Court sold the tract to four Bostonians for 1,100 pounds. Soon the Boston investors admitted others to their venture, rechristened Bristol. Stephen Paine's son Nathaniel, John Saffin, and Benjamin Church all took up rights. Church, a victorious commander in King Philip's War, was busy launching several towns in the region, and the four purchasers of Bristol gave him a one-sixteenth interest in

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their tract, probably hoping that a war hero would attract settlers to their venture. Church joined other speculators from Portsmouth in purchasing the tract that became the town of Tiverton, and he also owned a large interest in the town of Little Compton, which after the war rapidly filled up with settlers.

These overlapping ownerships made several of Plymouth's early proprietary associations — Rehoboth, Sowams, and Rehoboth North Purchase, at least — resemble interlocking directorates, different business boards run by the same few men. And these men and their companies looked well beyond the borders of the little lands of Plymouth: John Brown, Thomas Willett, John Saffin, John Viall, Benjamin Church, and John Paine all invested in Rhode Island lands, while some also invested in wilderness tracts in Massachusetts, Maine, and New York

West of Plymouth, the powerful fur trader William Pynchon bought the site of Springfield, Mass., from the Indians in 1636. He also built the first gristmill and sawmills in the Connecticut River Valley, along with the only store in Springfield. In 1685, a total of 120 people held 9,000 acres of land in the town land; Pynchon owned more than 1,800 acres, or 20 percent. But Pynchon was also busy outside of Springfield: Familiar with the Indians from his years of fur trading, he often negotiated with them for title to a new town's lands. Then, in return for purchasing the tract, Pynchon held title to the township until the town reimbursed him the purchase money—the equivalent of the bridge loans popular on Wall Street in the 1980s.

Northampton, Hadley, Westfield, Deerfield, Hatfield, Suffield, Brookfield, Enfield, and Northfield were all first purchased by Pynchon, and many of these towns gave him land rights as a reward for his financial services. In Deerfield, he also purchased additional shares from other investors, including Governor John Leverett; Pynchon became one of Deerfield's largest landowners. At his death in 1703, Pynchon's enormous landholdings exceeded £8,000 in value.

But, wealthy as he became, Pynchon was a reliable champion of frontier people because his fortunes were yoked to theirs. When they suffered, he did. After the Indian war broke out in 1675, it was Pynchon who led the English forces protecting the Connecticut Valley, and Pynchon's mills and rent-producing property were destroyed along with the homes and farms of settlers. But when settlements prospered, Pynchon prospered. He expended tremendous energy and time dealing with Indians, debtors, tenants, surveyors, committees, and the General Court to advance the settlements and his family's estate.

Another pre-eminent entrepreneur was John Winthrop, Jr., son of the governor of Massachusetts Bay. In 1633, he founded what became Ipswich on the coast north of Boston. But he stayed just long enough to lend his aura to the settlement, leaving in 1634 as soon as the town could stand on its own feet. But he kept his land: at least two town lots, two large farms, and other meadow and upland. Ipswich tried to give Winthrop even more land as a lure to keep him from leaving the town, but Winthrop had other plans. He went to England and came back in 1635 with a commission from Lord Say, Lord Brook, and others to start a town in their patent in Connecticut. These patentees hired Winthrop, paid the settlement costs, and sent over settlers. They expected to realize a profit either from land sales and fees or from agricultural production. By the spring of 1636 Winthrop was supervising construction of a fort and settlement at Saybrook.

Then he was off again. By 1657, when he was elected governor of Connecticut, Winthrop had lived in Boston, Salem, Ipswich, Saybrook, New London, New Haven, and Hartford—three of which he had founded himself. In the meantime he had tried to establish a New England ironworks and had even turned down offers to start towns on Long Island and along the Delaware Bay.

One of the first instances of insider trading in American history shows that Winthrop had a shrewd, if not unscrupulous, side. In 1659, Winthrop joined several prominent men from Massachusetts to buy land in Rhode Island which later became, with some additions, the principal assets of the Atherton Company. The next year, Winthrop represented the United Colonies — a federation of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island — in a dispute against the Narragansett Indians over certain alleged Indian offenses. The Atherton Company opportunistically stepped forward to pay the fine for the Indians. As security for the payment, the company got a mortgage on the Narragansetts' lands. Not surprisingly, the Indians did not redeem the mortgage, and the Atherton Company foreclosed on the whole Narragansett territory. Winthrop, as one of the commissioners of the United Colonies and a shareholder in the Atherton Company, knew that his investment would directly benefit from the fine levied on the Indians.

Part II of this article will appear in the next issue of Friends of Financial History.

[John Frederick Martin received his Ph.D. in history from Harvard University and is an independent scholar affiliated with The Bancroft Group in Washington, D.C.]

Don't miss Part II of Dr. Martin's outstanding work, Profits in the Wilderness, excerpted in the next issue of Friends of Financial History. Call today to check that your subscription is current. Our office number is (212) 908-4519.

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A Look at the General Motors of Yesterday

By William C. Schmidt, Jr.

General Motors Corporation (GM) is the largest industrial corporation in the world. Its 1991 revenues amounted to over \$123 billion, an amount far larger than the GNP of many countries. Worldwide, GM has approximately 360,000 employees, 120 plants, and 13,000 dealerships through which it sells its various automotive products. Until recently, GM built three out of every five cars made in the United States and about one-quarter of the cars made in the world. GM products today include not only automobiles and trucks, but also automotive components, locomotives, engines, mining and construction equipment, defense and aerospace material, and commercial and household appliances. Additionally, a GM financial and insurance group finances and insures sales of GM products.

General Motors Corporation was originally organized as General Motors Company in 1908 by the legendary and dynamic William C. Durant (1861-1947). At the time, Durant was the nation's largest carriage and wagon manufacturer, and the principal investor in, and guiding light of, the very successful Buick Motor Car Company

founded by David D. Buick in 1902. Over the next two years, Durant went on a buying spree, acquiring for GM some two dozen companies that made cars, electric lights, and sundry other accessories. Among the automobile manufacturers absorbed into GM were still-familiar names such as Oldsmobile, Oakland (later re-named Pontiac), and Cadillac, as well as makes that have now passed from the scene such as Cartercar, Elmore, Reliance and Rapid.

Durant, however, was more interested in dealmaking than in production. By 1910, Durant, president of GM since its founding, had overextended both himself and his company, and had to turn to a consortium of New York and Boston bankers for help. In return for their help, Durant agreed to leave GM.

One of the changes was the naming of Walter P. Chrysler, who would soon start his own automobile company, as president of Buick. A dissatisfied Durant, however, immediately began plotting his return to GM. Beginning in 1911, Durant backed the Swiss-born Louis Chevrolet in starting the Chevrolet Motor Company, which

Durant helped rapidly build into a nationwide business. As the business grew, Durant began swapping Chevrolet stock for GM stock and, by 1915, he had accumulated enough stock to oust the bankers and recover the company. As before, Durant went on a buying spree, adding such names as Chevrolet and Delco (1918), and Fisher Body and Frigidaire (1919). The company was reincorporated with its present name in 1916, shortly after Durant returned to GM.

When the postwar recession hit in 1920, Durant and GM were again found to be overextended, and Durant was again forced out, this time for good. Upon Durant's departure, Pierre S. du Pont, president of E.I. du Pont de Nemours Company and already GM chairman, became president as well. In 1923, he relinquished the presidency to Alfred P. Sloan, Jr. but continued on as chairman until 1929, when he was succeeded by his brother, Lammot. Upon Lammot's retirement in 1937, Sloan became chairman, a position he held until 1956. Today, du Pont and Sloan are considered the pioneers in developing management structures and techniques which permit enormous organizations with diversified activities such as GM to be efficiently managed.

William C. Schmidt, Jr., is the current president of the American branch of the Bond and Share Society.

"In business, the competition will bite you if you keep running, if you stand still it will swallow you."

— William S. Knudsen, 1939, later chairman. General Motors



This General Motors Corporation certificate, January 4, 1965, is typical of the style of certificate issued during the 1960s, with its futuristic vignette.

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- Susquehanna Iron & Steel (PA) 1904. 100 shs, green. Smelting scene. ABN. Uncancelled. (\$35-Up) (\$35-Up)
- Yazoo & Mississippi Valley RR (NY) 1922. One share. Train on a busy rural station. Sailship, right. ABN. Uncancelled. (\$35-Up)
- Cooperstown & Charlotte Valley (NY) 1890. One share, grey borders, gold embossed corporate seal and underprint. Woman wearing a cap with star. (\$40-Up) Interesting certificate from the bome of baseball.
- New York County (NY) 1860. \$1000. Revenue Bond, red embossed corporate seal. NYC Hall. Tiny edge split at left. Signed by Fernando Wood as Mayor. (\$45-Up)
- Mackay Companies 1921. 100 shs, green. Mercury uses caduceus to produce sparks. ABN. Signed by E. C. Platt as VP. Issued to and signed on verso by Clarence H. Mackay (1874-1938) American capitalist - owner of the radio-telegraph company and philanthropist. (\$150-Up)
- Broadway & Seventh Avenue RR (NY) 1933. 33 shs, green. Spread eagle on shield. FL-ABN.
- Elkhart Bridge (IN) 1905. 100 shs, grey/black, gold embossed corporate seal and underprint. #17. Eagle, shield and arrows. Bust engravings of Washington and (\$50-Up) Lincoln, upper corners. Uncancelled.
- Granite State Mica Mining & Improvement (ME) 1896. 50 shs, grey borders, green underprint. Miners underground, top left. Individual mining vignettes along borders. Uncancelled.
- Amalgamated Mining & Oil (NY) 1907. \$30. 6% First Mortgage 20-Year Gold Bond, Co, green. Tunnel entrance. Oil site. (\$50-Up) Mining and oil bonds are scarce.
- 10 Lehigh & Hudson River RR (NJ) 1881. 10 shs, grey/black. Train, FBN. (\$30-Up)
- 11 Cooperstown & Susquehanna Valley RR (NY) 1893. One share. #12. Train, steamboat. (\$35-Up)
- 12 Fremont-Vineta Oil & Gold Mining (SD) 1902. 200 shs, brown borders and underprint, green tower underprint. Mountain trails. Mining scenes. (\$40-Up)
- 13 New Haven & Northampton (CT-MA) 1890. 31 shs, green. Train, sailship. State seals. ABN.
- 14 Canada Southern RR (Canada) 1880. \$1000. Second Mortgage Registered Bond, green. Train. Man, with Woman and child, wave flag at train. Prepared, but (\$40-Up) unissued.
- 15 Brooklyn & Queens Transit (NY) 1937. 100 shs, orange. Allegorical figures. Quayle & Sons. Preferred. (\$50-Up)
- 16 Phoenix Insurance (CT) 1858. 38 shs, grey/black. Phoenix. State seal, bottom center. (\$30-Up)
- 17 Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Rwy (NY) 1888. Certificate for 10 Bonds, brown. Train. Sphinxes. WBN. (\$40-Up)
- 18 Toledo, St.Louis & Western RR (IN) 1900. \$5000. Prior Lien 3-1/2% Gold Bond, red. Locomotive #188. Allegorical woman along right border. FLB.
- 19 Bank of Kentucky (KY) 1842. 12 shs, grey/black. Liberty, eagle. Cherubs. Medallions. Eagle on rock. Condition is (\$55-Up) unusually good.
- 20 Pioneer Steamship (OH) 1930. Mentor Special District, Lake County, OH. 40 shs, grey orange underprint. Oil (\$30-Up)
- 21 City & County of Los Angeles (CA) 1930. \$161.91. Street Improvement Bond, Cs, orange. #18. State seal. Tiny cancellation holes.

- 22 Brunswick Consolidated Gold Mining (CA) 1908. 100 shs, (\$60-Up) all purple. State seal.
- 23 Ohio State Canal Stock (OH) 1850, \$500. grey/black. Loan of 1860, Allegorical figures at top center and each corner. Trimmed partially to border at right. Small diamond shaped cancellation bole in center.
- 24 Milford & Uxbridge Street Rwy (MA) 1916. 5 shs, brown. Trolley. Uncancelled. Few staple boles, top left. (\$30-Up)
- 25 Sandusky, Mansfield & Newark RR (OH) 1866. \$15. Fractional Funded Bond Certificate issued in New York. (\$25-Up)
- 26 Interborough Consolidated (NY) 1922. 11 shs, blue. Winged allegorical figure with light and winged wheel. Predecessor of the "1RT" subway.
- 27 Restaurant L'Aiglon (NY) 1919. 20 shs, brown. #21. State arms. Uncancelled, minor edge tear on top. (\$20-Up)
- 28 Hudson Coal (PA) 1940. \$5000. Registered First Mortgage Sinking Fund 5% Gold Bond, red. Series A. Coal factory. (\$30-Up)
- 29 Maryland Brewing of Baltimore City (MD) 1899. One Share, all brown. State arms. Preferred. British imprinted (\$30-Up) revenue.
- 30 National City Bank of New York (NY) 1929. 50 shs, olive. City seal, bottom center. Tiny cancellation boles. ABN. (\$20-Up)
- 31 North Star Consolidated Mining (CO) 1881. 5 shs, grey/black. Miners working, others taking a break. Folds. Collier & Cleaveland Litb.
- 32 Pittsburgh, Lisbon & Western RR (OH-PA) 1906. 100 shs, brown, grey. Train in a covered terminal. WBN. (\$30-Up)
- 33 Gold Queen Mining (WY) 1905, 5000 shs, orange borders and underprint featuring allegorical figures. Folds. EF. (\$40-Up)
- 34 Old Colony Steamboat (MA) 1890. 1000 shs, grey. #49. Steamships, sailboat. Folds. ABN. VF+. (\$40-Up)
- 35 Atlantic & Pacific RR (NY) 1880. \$1000. Income Mortgage Bond, Cu, golden brown. Surveyors, train crossing bridge and river in the distance. ABN. EF.
- 36 First National Bank of Springfield (KY) 1888. 2 shs, gold embossed corporate seal. Lovely engraved woman.
- 37 Dayton, Lebanon & Cincinnati RR & Terminal (OH) 1909. 500 shs, green. #2. Train, horse wagon. Issued to and signed by M. L. Sternberger as president and on verso. (\$40-Up)
- 38 Waldorf Realty (OH) 1921. One share, red "COMMON". Signed by George Waldorf as president and Burton Waldorf as secretary.
- 39 City of Los Angeles (CA) 1905. \$1000. Water Works Bond, green. State seal. TCH. (\$30-Up)
- 40 Troy Armory Improvement Bond (NY) 1902, Rensselaer County. \$2000. #5. brown. Armory building. Two minor (\$30-Up) edge splits on top. TCH.
- 41 Cole Motor Car (IN). Shares, orange. Allegorical figures pour oil into torch. FL-ABN. Unissued, but prepared and signed by J. J. Cole as president.
- 42 Pittsburg Traction (PA) 1891. 100 shs, green. Streetcar. (\$35-Up)
- 43 Denver & Southwestern Rwy (NJ) 1901. 30 shs, brown.
 Train on turntable, others waiting in line. Uncancelled.

- 44 Leetonia Store (OH) 1905. 2 shs, all brown. State seal. WBN. (\$25-Up)
- 45 Kirkwood Pottery (OH) 1907. 5 shs, grey/black, go embossed corporate seal and underprint. #3. Woman star-studded cap. Issued to and signed by A. P. Clark as (\$30-Up)
- 46 Peace River Mining & Milling 1921, 600 shs, grey and gold borders, gold embossed corporate seal and underprint. Moose. Beaver, bottom center. (\$75-Up)
- 47 American Druggists Syndicate (NY) 1918. 13 shs, olive. Reclining allegorical female. ABN. (\$30-Up)
- 48 Columbia Petroleum (TX) 1920. Houston. 100 shs, orange. Full-width vignette of location. Gusber. (\$30-Up)
- 49 Security Oil (CO) 1921. 40 shs, grey/black. Title in-between pipes connected to tanks and towers. Gusber and tower along side borders. (\$30-Up)
- 50 Fulton Motor Truck (DE) 1919. 5 shs, grey and gold borders, gold embossed corporate seal and underprint. Spread eagle, sunrise and city by the bay in the distance. This company built commercial vehicles in Farmingdale, Long Island, NY, between 1917-23.
- 51 Detroit & Cleveland Navigation (MI) 1925, 100 shs, orange. Steamship. ABN.
- 52 Guanajuato Consolidated Mining & Milling (WV) 1901. 100 shs, blue. Title flanked by eagle and Mexican arms in (\$50-Up) ornate ovals, ABN.
- 53 Crown Hill Colliery (WV) 1895. \$100. First Mortgage 15-Year 6% Gold Bond, Cs, orange. Royal crown. (\$35-Up) Only 200 of these bonds were authorized issued.
- 54 Middletown & Cincinnati RR (OH) 1894. 4 shs, grey/black, orange underprint. #2. Spread eagle on rock. Rubber stamp cancelled.
- 55 Langoon Henszey Coal Mining (NC) 1894. \$500. First Consolidated Mortgage 6% 20-Year Gold Bond, Cs, green. Miners taking a break. (\$80-Up) Mining bonds are scarce and this one is quite attractive.
- 56 General Motors (DE) 1954, \$1000. 25-Year 3-1/4% Debenture, green. Company vision. ABN. (\$20-Up)
- 57 Pierce Arrow Motor Car (NY) 1934. Scrip Certificate, blue borders and security underprint. ABN. (\$100-Up)
- 58 Herschell Spillman Motor (MA) 1919. 20 shs. Temporary Certificate, blue borders and security underprint, red "COMMON". ABN. (\$100-Up) This company built engines for other manufacturers and between 1901-5 was reportedly building automobiles. It went on to build amusement rides including merry-gorounds up until the 1960's.
- 59 Cape Breton Coal Iron & Rwy (Nova Scotia) 1903. 5 shs, brown, gold embossed corporate seal. Miners (\$40-Up) underground. FLB Lith.
- 60 New York & New England RR 1885, 100 shs, grey/black (\$35-Up) Steam train. Continental Bank Note.
- 61 Baltimore & Ohio RR 1899. 3 shs, orange. Locomotive, top left. Preferred Stock Trust Certificate. British imprinted revenues, IBC.
- 62 American Underwriters (WV) 1913, 10 shs, green, gold embossed corporate seal. #42. Company logo. Preferred. (\$25-Up)
- 63 Youngstown-Sharon Rwy & Light 1901. 50 shs, brown. Stock Trust Certificate. Woman with star tiara perched on eagle. Rubber stamp cancelled. WBN. (\$30-Up)



- 64 West Point Telephone (VA) 1890. 5 shs. State arms. Rubber stamp cancelled. (\$35-Up)
- 65 Choctaw, Oklahoma & Gulf RR 1899, 100 shs, blue.
 Preferred Stock Trust Certificate, FLB. (\$30-Up)
- 66 Bay Parkway National Bank of Brooklyn (NY) 1927. 10 shs, brown. Spread eagle on shield and arrows. (\$30-Up)
- 67 Kinsey Distilling (PA) 1937. 1250 shs, blue. Spread eagle on rock. SBN. (\$20-Up)
- 68 Benton County Apple Brandy (AR) 1900. 5 shs, brown. Allegorical figures along borders on either side. Three minor edge splits. (\$25-Up)
- 69 Coast Tire & Rubber (CA) 1920. 10 shs, grey and gold borders, gold embossed corporate seal and underprint. Spread eagle, sunrise & bay city in the distance. (\$30-Up)
- 70 Proprietors of Boston Pier or the Long Wharf (MA) 1933.
 5 shs. Organized in 1715 & incorporated in 1772. (\$20-Up)
- 71 Consolidated Manganese (ME) 1921. 100 shs, blue. Miners underground. HBN. (\$35-Up)
- 72 Butler Iron (IL) 1917. 25 shs, orange, gold embossed corporate seal. Spread eagle. (\$30-Up)
- 73 Boston & Providence RR (MA) 1871. One share, grey. Train, men boating. Train crossing bridge across at left. ABN. R44 (rubber stamp cancelled). (\$50-Up)
- 74 New York, Pittsburg & Chicago Construction (NY) 1881. \$1875. Second Mortgage Income Bond. Train, borse wagon. Light glue remnants along left border. (\$30-Up)
- 75 Tintic Mining & Milling (UT Territory) 1892. 2000 shs, grey/black. Miner with pick, another pusbing a rail car. Light glue staining. Salt Lake Litb. (\$30-Up)
- 76 Fox Theatres (NY) 1932. 10 shs, blue. Reclining allegorical female and cherub, lion. ABN. (\$25-Up)
- 77 Capital Cities Communications (NY) 1977. 400 shs, grey, orange. Allegorical female with globe. ABN. (\$20-Up)
- 78 Goldfield Treasure Mining (AZ) 1917. 5000 shs, orange. Miners underground. Paper clip rust mark on top, otherwise VF+. (\$45-Up)
- 79 Chicago, Burlington & Quincy RR (IL) 1887. 10 shs, grey, black. Steam locomotive, steamboat. ABN. (\$30-Up)
- 80 Beaver Dam Water (PA) 1907. One share, grey borders, green embossed corporate seal and underprint. Spread eagle. Small punch holes through signatures. (\$25-Up)
- 81 Sonora Rwy (US-Mexico) 1882. 70 shs, grey/black. Locomotive "PROGRESS". Eagle and Mexican arms in circles, either side. ABN. (\$30-Up)
- 82 Union Lumber 1908. 13 shs, brown. #11. Men cutting down trees. Shield at corners. (\$25-Up)
- 83 Ishpeming Livery (MI) 1914. 9 shs. #71. Horse's head. Handsome certificate. (\$35-Up)
- 84 Submarine Signal (ME) 1944. 2 shs, green. Ocean-going ships. ABN. (\$30-Up)
- 85 Indiahoma Refining (OK) 1922. 100 shs, orange. Gusher. SBN. (\$25-Up)
- 86 Producers & Refiners (WY) 1933, 100 shs, blue. Barebreasted woman flanked by tower and refinery. ABN. (\$25-Up)
- 87 Hughesville Water (PA) 1891. \$500. 6% First Mortgage Bond, Cb, grey, red "\$500". State arms. Leonhardt & Son. (\$30-Up)
- 88 Philadelphia & Reading Coal & Iron (DE) 1933. 2 shs, orange. Muscular man hammers large gear, factories. ABN. (\$35-Up)
- 89 [Yankee Stadium] Stadium Maintenance (NY) 19__. Shares, brown. #10. State seal. Unissued. (\$40-Up)
- 90 Kansas City Baseball Club (MO) 1936. 56 shs, brown. Title on grey fancy scroll. Cut-out cancelled signatures. (\$60-Up)
- 91 Wayne Coal (DE) 1922. 100 shs, green. Electric-powered coal mine locomotive with miner. RBN. (\$35-Up) Interesting vignette very seldom seen.

- 92 Maryland Smokeless Coal (WV) 1903. \$1000. First Mortgage 6% Gold Bond, Cb, brown. Miners work below by candlelight. Goes Litb. (\$40-Up) Coal Mining bonds are scarce and this bond is #67 of only 600 authorized issued.
- 93 New Albany Street RR 1901. One share, grey borders, green ornate decor and eagle on shield underprints. Title is handwritten. Inconspicuous cut cancellations. (\$25-Up)
- 94 Fort Wayne Electric (IN) 1890. 10 shs, grey/black. Topless woman with star tiara perched on a flying eagle. (\$35-Up)
- 95 Brooklyn College Club (NY) 1929. \$25. 5-Year 3%
 Debenture Bond, brown. Only 400 of tbese were authorized issued. (\$40-Up)
- 96 Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Rwy (IL-IA-MO) 1893, 50 shs, grey and blue borders. Locomotive "AMERICA". Sphinxes. ABN. Handsome bi-color certificate with an unusual printed denomination. (\$60-Up) First time offered.
- 97 Slim Jim Oil & Gas (KS) 1917. Half share, grey, gold embossed corporate seal and underprint. #41. Towers.

 Train, gusher, tank and horse-drawn rail tanker along borders. (\$30-Up)
- 98 Baltimore & Ohio RR (MD) 1884. 3 shs, grey/black. Train. 6% Preferred stock. (\$40-Up)
- 99 Union National Bank (PA) 1905. Johnstown. 2 shs, grey/black, gold embossed corporate seal. Spread eagle on shield, steamship in the distance. (\$35-Up)
- 100 Lebanon Springs RR (NY) 1867. \$1000. 7% Mortgage Bond, Cu, green "\$1000", red embossed corporate seal. Train, steamboat. Root, Anthony & Co. (\$75-Up)
- 101 Anderson Belt Raitway (IN) 1891. One share. #8. State seal flanked by agricultural and commercial scenes. Rubber stamp cancelled. (\$30-Up)
- 102 Great Central Oil of Pennsylvania (PA) 1865. 1000 shs. #6.
 Minor ink burns on signature. (\$20-Up)
- 103 Hidden Fortune Gold Mining (SD) 1902. 100 shs, orange, gold embossed corporate seal. Title in fancy letters. Eagle on sbield flanked by train and Indian camp. (\$45-Up)
- 104 American Cable (NY) 1877. 25 shs, brown borders and underprint. Woman bolds lightning sparks. Morse's engraving, bottom center. CNB. Issued to S. B. Morse, but unsigned by him. (\$50-Up) "What hatb God wrought?"
- 105 Delaware RR 1904. 3 shs, green, Train, ABN. (\$50-Up)
- 106 United New Jersey RR & Canal (NJ) 1931. \$100,000. Registered General Mortgage 4-1/2% Gold Bond, blue. Steam locomotive. ABN. (\$35-Up)
- 107 Colt's Manufacturing (CT) 1955. 100 shs, brown. Horse on its hind legs biting arrow. Printed signature featuring crossed rifles and pistols. ABN. (30-Up)
- 108 South Carolina Rwy (SC) 1881. \$1000. Purchase-Money Mortgage Income Bond, grey, black. Blacks pick cotton, either side. ABN. (\$100-Up)
- 109 Manhattan Transit (NY) 1911. 100 shs, green. Seated allegorical female, barbor in the background. IBC. (\$45-Up)
- 110 Twenty-Third Street Rwy (NY) 1912. \$1000. Improvement & Refunding Mortgage 50-Year 5% Gold Bond, Cb, orange. Street cars. ABN. (\$35-Up)
- 111 Century Steel of America (NY) 1919. 6 shs, blue. Man pours molten iron into pig molds. ABN. (\$30-Up)
- 112 United States Freight (DE) 1949, 100 shs, green, Allegorical female flanked by train and ship, Central Bank Note.

 (\$30-Up)
- 113 United States Leather (NJ) 1940. 42 shs, orange. Bull's bead flanked by seated allegorical figures. ABN. (\$40-Up)
- 114 Victor Machine (AZ) 1910. 4 shs, green. Woman with wreath & shield flanked by Indian camp & city. (\$35-Up)
- 115 Parker Axle & Products (NY) 1920. 6 shs, green borders and underprint. Statue of Liberty with flag, eagle on standing shield, globe, and steamship. (\$35-Up)

- 116 Mississippi & Missouri RR 1862. \$700. Receipt for coupons of the First Mortgage Construction Bond. Printed on grey paper. (\$25-Up)
- 117 Trojan Brake Shoe & Foundry (NY) 1906. 10 shs, green. #11. State arms flanked by train and steamboat in the distance. (\$25-Up)
- 118 Mississippi Tom Thumb Golf (MS) 1930. 250 shs, grey borders, green seal and underprint. #2. Title typewritten. Eagle on shield. (\$50-Up)
- 119 Indiana Harbor Belt RR (IN) 1964. \$75,000. First Mortgage Bond, brown borders and spread eagle vignette. (\$20-Up)
- 120 Consolidated Cuban Petroleum (DE) 1958. 50 shs, brown borders & spread eagle. Printed corporate seal. (\$20-Up)
- 121 Automatic Telephone Dialer (DE) 1936. 100 shs, orange. Spread eagle on shield and flag, U.S. Capitol in the distance. (\$25-Up)
- 122 Hereford Rwy (Canada) 1917. 8 shs, brown. Steam locomotive. JAL. (\$50-Up)
- 123 Maine Central RR (ME) 1926. 4 shs, olive. Trains, trackworkers. ABN. (\$30-Up)
- 124 Portland & Ogdensburg Rwy (ME-NH) 1892. 28 shs, grey/black. Train, stage coach and steamboats. Small cancellation boles through signature blocks. (\$40-Up)
- 125 City National Bank & Trust of Chicago (IL) 1947. \$2000. brown borders and underprint, blue letters. CD for bonds of Chicago Rapid Transit and the Union Consolidated Elevated Railway. (\$25-Up)
- 126 Downey's 5=10 & 25¢ Stores (NY) 1913. 50 shs, grey and gold borders, gold embossed corporate seal and underprint. Spread eagle on arrows.

 No. 1 certificate issued to and signed by Sidney E. Downey as president. Interesting and unusual!
- 127 Bowditch Furniture (CT) 1898. New Haven. 14 shs, all green. #47. Fancy side borders. Signed by E. B. Bowditch as president. (\$25-Up)
- 128 Hodgman Rubber (NY) 1924. 6 shs, orange. Seated allegorical figures pour oil into torcb. Preferred. FL-+ABN. (\$25-Up)
- 129 New York City (NY) 1896, \$5000. Consolidated Stock Bond, gold "GOLD", green embossed corporate seal. #48. Two minor edge tears. (\$25-Up)
- 130 Charles River Brancb RR 1852. 3 shs, printed red corporate seal on grey paper. Counterfoil at left. Early and in excellent condition. (\$50-Up)
- 131 Consolidated Car (M1) 1916. Detroit. 7 shs, grey/black, go embossed corporate seal and underprint. Spread eagle on dome, upper left. (\$50-Up)
- 132 Buffalo & Lake Eric Traction (NY-PA) 1910. 5 shs, orange. Spread eagle on shield. Streetcar, bottom center. State arms in ornate circles. ABN. (\$50-Up)
- 133 Mohawk & Hudson RR (NY) 1840. 20 shs. Small form printed on beige paper with a very wide bottom margin. Scarce and very early. (\$150-Up) When the Mohawk and Hudson went into operation, English locomotives were the primary source of motive power. These beavy engines with rigid front wheels tore up the American rails. John B. Jervis of the Mohawk and Hudson modified the British locomotives by substituting a front truck with two axles and four wheels. This proved to be a very important step in the development of the American style of locomotive.
- 134 Commercial Trust (CT) 1929. New Britain. 25 shs, brown, gold embossed corporate seal. Anvil with the company name. (\$25-Up)
- 135 Consolidated Rolling Stock (CT) 1910. Bridgeport. 10 shs, grey/black. Train, horsewagon. (\$25-Up)

Please note that a 10% buyer's charge will be added to each lot purchased on all purchases.



- 136 Kawich & Bullfrog Mines (SD) 1905. 500 shs, gold. Miners busy working underground. Prospector along side borders, Justice. (\$50-Up)
- 137 Joanna-Nevada Gold Mining (ME) 1910. 608 shs, green. Liberty. (\$45-Up)
- 138 Federal Adding Machine (NJ) 1917. 70 shs, orange.
 Allegorical figures, factory, beebive. (\$25-Up)
- 139 Clapp Motor-Carriage (NJ) 1900. 71 shs. #13. Ornate brown borders. Rectangular piece (1" x 1-1/2") clipped at top left corner. (\$50-Up) Established in 1898 by Henry Clapp, who had worked with the Duryea brothers, envisioning three vehicles a day production. However, Clapp built the first "fuel efficient" car using only 6 gallons of gas for a 100-mile run, but never went into production. A xerox copy of the 1898 Clapp Gasoline Carriage is included.
- 140 Andress Paint & Color (NJ) 1891. 100 shs, grey/black, silver embossed corporate seal. #11. Monogram. Dog on cbest. (\$30-Up)
- 141 American Ammonia Manufacturing (VA) 1893. 7 shs, grey/black, gold embossed corporate seal. Spread eagle on rock. Gast Lith & Eng. (\$30-Up)
- 142 Velo Automishun 1936. 100 shs, blue borders and security underprint, Stock Trust Certificate. (\$25-Up)
- 143 St. Louis-San Francisco Rwy (MO) 1937. 25 shs, brown.

 Trains, trackworkers. Facsimile signatures. ABN.

 Excellent condition.

 First time offered here!
- 144 Colorcraft (DE) 1930. 100 shs, orange. Bi-color (red & green) logo. (\$25-Up)
- 145 Cuban Cane Products (DE) 1930. 5 shs, orange. Sugar mill, oxcarts loaded with sugar cane, train. Facsimile signatures. ABN. (\$30-Up)
- 146 International Match (DE) 1926. 80 shs, green. Reclining allegorical female, lion. Participating Preference certificate. Uncancelled. ABN. (\$25-Up)

condition, unless clearly described otherwise.

required to send suitable references.

- 147 Miocene Petroleum (WA) 1929. 5 shs, grey borders, go embossed corporate seal and underprint. Oil site, top left. Train, tank, towers, at corners. (\$30-Up)
- 148 Page & Shaw (MA) 1929. One share, grey, brown.
 Company building. Signed by Henry Shaw as president.
 (\$25-Un)
- 149 Northern Texas Electric (ME) 1916. 3 shs, olive. Woman holds lightning bolts. ABN. (\$30-Up)
- 150 Temagami-Cobalt Mines (ME) 1909. 1000 shs, green, orange underprint. Spread eagle on rock. Two minor edge splits on top. (\$30-Up)
- 151 New York, New Haven & Hartford RR 1938. 10 shs, orange. Electric train. ABN. Uncancelled. (\$40-Up)
- 152 Wickwire Spencer Steel (DE) 1925. 5 shs, blue. Trust Certificate. Allegorical male flanked by factories in the distance. ABN. Uncancelled. (\$30-Up)
- 153 Associated Bankers (DE) 1921. 50 shs, green borders and underprint. #35. Spread eagle. Minor edge split on top. (\$25-Up)
- 154 American Express (NY) 1963. 25 shs, red. Company logo. Facsimile signatures. ABN. Excellent condition. (\$20-Up)
- 155 Empress Mining & Milling (AZ) 1904. 300 shs, brown borders, embossed corporate seal and underprint.

 Ornate. (\$40-Up)
- 156 Cripple Creek Mutual Mining & Milling (CO) 1897. 3000 shs, gold borders and embossed seal. #11. Miners underground. Three tiny edge splits on top, otherwise VF. (\$60-Up)
- 157 Greeley Square Hotel (NY) 1920. 50 shs, brown borders and security underprint. State arms. Preferred. NY stock transfer and documentary stamps affixed at lower left. (\$40-Up)
- 158 Gramm-Bernstein Truck (OH) 1924. 40 shs, orange borders and underprint. Signed by M. Bernstein as president. (\$75-Up)

- 159 Independent Corporation (NY) 1915. 20 shs. Orange title, bi-color borders. Tiny edge split on top otherwise VF. (\$35-Up)
- 160 Indiana Mlning (MI) 1911. 10 shs, red. Indian chief. FLB. (\$45-Up)
- 161 Gold Creek, Nevada, Consolidated Lodes (CO) 1898. 6250 shs, green. Miners underground. ABN. (\$60-Up) "Go West, young man, and grow up with the country."
- 162 Lanyon Zinc (NJ) 1906. 30 shs, green. Elegant woman with dove at top right. Preferred. FLB. (\$40-Up)
- 163 Lackawanna Coal & Lumber (WV) 1912. 8 shs, brown.
 Coal loading station. (\$30-Up)
- 164 Kay Copper (DE) 1926. 100 shs, grey/black. SBN vignette of the bearded Abrabam Lincoln. SBN. (\$40-Up) "As I would not be a slave, so I will not be a master."
- 165 Connecticut Telephone & Electric (CT) 1924. Meriden, CT. 10 shs, orange. Spread eagle on shield and arrows. Preferred. FL-ABN. (\$35-Up)
- 166 Clark Insulated Wire (NJ) 1882. 25 shs, grey/black. Flamboyantly printed title, ornate Victorian borders. (\$30-Up)
- 167 Chicago, Saint Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha Rwy 1922. 25 shs, brown borders and underprint. Steam locomotive. Train crossing bridge and steamboat in ovals. FBN. (\$30-Up)

* * * END OF SALE * * *

PRINTERS & ENGRAVERS:

- ABN American Bank Note
- CBN Columbian Bank Note
- CNB Continental Bank Note
- CT Charles Toppan & Co.
- DTL Draper, Toppan, Longacre & Co.
- DW Danforth, Wright & Co.
- EAW E.A. Wright Banknote
- FBN Franklin Bank Note Co.
- FLB Franklin-Lee Bank Note Co.
- HBN Hamilton Bank Note
- HLB Homer Lee Banknote
- IBN International Bank Note
- JAL Jobn A. Lowell Bank Note
- NBN National Bank Note Co.
- NYB New York Bank Note Co.
- RBN Republic Bank Note
- RWH · Rawdon, Wright & Hatch
- RWHE Rawdon, Wright, Hatch & Edson
- SBN Security Bank Note Co.
- SCB Security Columbian Banknote
- TCC Toppan, Carpenter, Casilear
- UBSH Underwood, Bald, Spencer & Hufty
- WBN Western Bank Note & Engraving
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The Lockwood - Mathews Mansion Museum illustrates the personal history of LeGrand Lockwood (1820-1872), a financier active in American railroad development during the 1850s, and in the sale of stocks and government bonds during the Civil War. The Museum offers tours of the historic house, changing exhibits and holiday activities. From November 12 to December 6 (except for November 23 to 26) a Christmas Holiday Boutique will offer holiday decorating and gift items for sale. A Victorian Christmas event, scheduled for December 20, will feature seasonal music, food, crafts

and activities for the entire family. The Museum is located at 295 West Avenue in Norwalk, Connecticut, and is open Tuesday through Friday, 11:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. and Sunday 1:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. Admission is \$5 for adults, \$3 for seniors and students, and free for children under 12. For additional information call (203)838-9799,

Fraunces Tavern Museum will open Star-Spangled Spirits: Early American Drinking Traditions and Temperance Movements on January 14, 1993, in their third floor galleries. The Museum is located at 54 Pearl Street, New York, NY 10004. For more information call (212) 425-1778, and ask about their Lunchtime Lecture Series.

[Call Anne Keane at (212)908-4519 with information on items of interest taking place in your community that would be of interest to our readers. Let us know the date, time, location and a contact phone number for the event. There is no charge for this service.]

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